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MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF

Signs of Life in California's Slumping Economy
A commercial real estate glut has hurt Los Angeles (downtown office building shown in photo) and other parts of California. Now a drop in unemployment offers some hope. **PAGE 8.**

Congress Chips Apart Clinton's Fiscal Plan, One Item at a Time

Under criticism from interest groups and Ross Perot, White House backs off business, energy, alcohol taxes

By John Dillin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

NOW the hard part begins.

President Clinton's $1.5 trillion budget, criticized on several fronts, has begun a summer-long journey up the steep path to approval on Capitol Hill.

The Senate and House are devoting several months to Mr. Clinton's proposals, looking for weak spots. The president's plan includes hefty new taxes on energy and income, lower federal retirement benefits, cuts in Medicare payments to doctors, and other prickly issues.

Many congressmen, especially Democrats, are increasingly uneasy about what's on the table. Most of them must answer to tax-weary voters in less than 18 months. Yet the political payoff in Clinton's plan to reduce the federal deficit comes too late to help them on election day.

Ross Perot, like an angry bee, also hovers over Washington's budget deliberations. He grows more critical of Clinton every day. Congressmen cannot ignore him. A new survey, sponsored by U.S. News & World Report, finds the Texas billionaire running neck-and-neck with Clinton, 35 percent each, in a hypothetical race for the White House.

All this makes Wall Street jittery. Major traders reportedly are shedding long-term Treasury bonds. They worry that Clinton's plan will be picked apart by Congress, and that deficit reduction won't happen. If they are right, interest rates could rise, bond values could fall, and the weak recovery could be stifled.

Midweek passed with the president talking tough to voters, while sending signals about compromise to Capitol Hill. Clinton's speedy reversal on some of his

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A US-Turkish-Russian Plan May Halt Karabakh Fighting

By Daniel Sneider
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MOSCOW

A NEW tripartite US-Russian-Turkish peace plan is offering a glimmer of hope that the fighting that has raged for five years between Armenians and Azeris in the Transcaucasus region of the former Soviet Union may be halted.

The government of Azerbaijan has already given its approval to the plan. Officials from the three mediating countries are hoping to meet, perhaps as early as tomorrow, to discuss certain objections raised by the government of Armenia and to revise the timing of the plan. Armenian officials express confidence in the chances for an agreement, although it is not yet clear whether the more hard-line Armenian forces in the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh are prepared to go along.

"As far as Armenia is concerned, there are now enough additional elements that we can probably go ahead with this, but we want to see what this looks like finally," Armenian Deputy Foreign Minister Jirair Libaridian told the Monitor in a telephone interview from Yerevan. The senior Arme-

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Key Senators Push Compromise On Issue of Gays in Armed Forces

By Peter Grier
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THE Clinton administration may be losing political control of its proposal to allow homosexuals to serve openly in the United States military.

As high-profile Senate hearings on the subject continue, even some congressional allies of the White House are becoming discouraged. The hearings, particularly those held by Senate Armed Services Committee chairman Sam Nunn (D) of Georgia, have been "a disaster," says one legislative source who favors allowing gays to serve openly in the armed forces.

Clinton officials have provided no witnesses and little leadership for lawmakers who support lifting the current ban on gays. The White House instead cites an ongoing Defense Department study of the issue. The department is to draft an executive order for the president by July 15.

Senator Nunn and some other lawmakers have suggested a compromise whereby recruits would not be asked their sexual orientation. Openly gay military personnel would still be subject to discharge, however.

This limbo situation is already current policy, as the military awaits a final presidential decision. Gay rights advocates have strenuously objected to it, saying it would force gays in the military to continue to live a lie.

Meanwhile, well-known national figures such as retired Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf have appeared before Nunn's hearings

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Rabin Dodges Trouble
But Cabinet rift persists, undermining Israel's position in peace talks with the Palestinians.
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North Korea's Nuclear Weapons
A carefully tailored US policy could turn this threat into Korean unity.
18

US TROOPS MAY GO TO MACEDONIA

President Clinton said it appears increasingly likely he will send a contingent of American troops to join United Nations forces in the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, a symbolic deployment designed to stop the fighting from spreading. He also said the United States is not about to act alone or take sides in the Balkan war. Bosnian Serbs, meanwhile, turned down a call by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic for a joint session of all Serbian parliaments from former Yugoslavia to ratify the United Nations peace plan. The proposal demands Serbs give back one-third of the land they have captured during the year-long war that has left 134,000 dead or missing. The Bosnian Serbs instead opted to go ahead with a scheduled referendum this weekend on the UN proposal.

US prices jump

US wholesale prices shot up 0.6 percent in April, the steepest jump in 2 1/2 years, the government said yesterday. Food costs were the highest in more than three years, due in part to bad weather. The Labor Department said the April surge in its Producer Price Index followed increases of 0.4 percent in both February and March. It was the largest since a 1 percent gain in October 1990.

German strike spreads

Union members in three east German regions voted yesterday to join an engineering workers' strike, spreading the walkout to all five states in the former communist area. Workers in Brandenburg, Saxony-Anhalt, and Thuringia states as well as eastern Berlin voted overwhelmingly to join the strike, which hit Saxony and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern last week in the region's first legal strike in six decades. Employers had canceled a deal giving workers a 26 percent pay rise from April 1, saying that struggling east German firms could not afford the rise.

Ciampi gets backing

The Italian Senate yesterday voted confidence in the government of Premier Carlo Ciampi, clearing the way for him to begin work on reforming Italy's political system and economy. Despite last-minute threats of defections from supporters, approval in the 315-member upper house of Parliament had been expected after Ciampi won a confidence vote in the Chamber of Deputies on Friday.

A Russian UN veto

Russia stunned the UN Security Council by casting its first veto since 1984 to kill a resolution, aimed at reforming the financing of the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus. All 14 other council members voted for the British-sponsored resolution Tuesday, calling for the costs of the 1,500-member force to be divided among all UN members, instead of relying on voluntary donations. The peacekeeping operation has been on Cyprus since 1964 to help keep peace between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, but it is now running $200 million in arrears.

AIDS help in Africa

The African Development Bank said it plans to provide more cash to help fight Africa's AIDS epidemic, which is hitting the world's poorest continent extremely hard. The disease is believed to have infected more than 7.5 million Africans and to be still spreading.

N. Korea snaps at UN

North Korea yesterday officially rejected a UN resolution asking it to open military sites to nuclear inspectors, accusing the Security Council of interfering in its internal affairs. Talk among other UN members of possible sanctions for failing to heed the resolution was tantamount to a declaration of war, a spokesman for the isolated state said. North Korea had said on March 12 that it was withdrawing from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty rather than bow to the demand of the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency to open the two suspect sites to the agency's inspectors.

– Compiled by David Mutch

NATIONAL

Boston School 'Back to Normal' After a Disturbing Racial Brawl

By Elizabeth Ross and Shelby Siems
Staff writers of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

FRESHMEN and sophomores returned to South Boston High School peacefully yesterday. They rejoined their junior and senior classmates for the first full-attendance school day since a racial melee involving over 200 persons occurred at the school last Thursday.

"Things seemed pretty much back to normal," said Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn. "South Boston High is still suffering from the early scars of busing, but the students are still getting an education, and they are courageous people."

Busing began in 1974 when a federal judge ordered that schools be desegregated. South Boston is a primarily white neighborhood.

Students had mixed reactions about returning. Senior David Ortiz said, "I am going to jail. This ain't school." He said racial tensions have been heightened inside the school, explaining that white South Boston residents are keeping a distance from Hispanics and blacks with whom they formerly mingled.

He described a school in which students are forbidden from lingering in hallways, must have a security guard escort them to bathrooms, and where those bused in are whisked off school grounds by school buses at day's end.

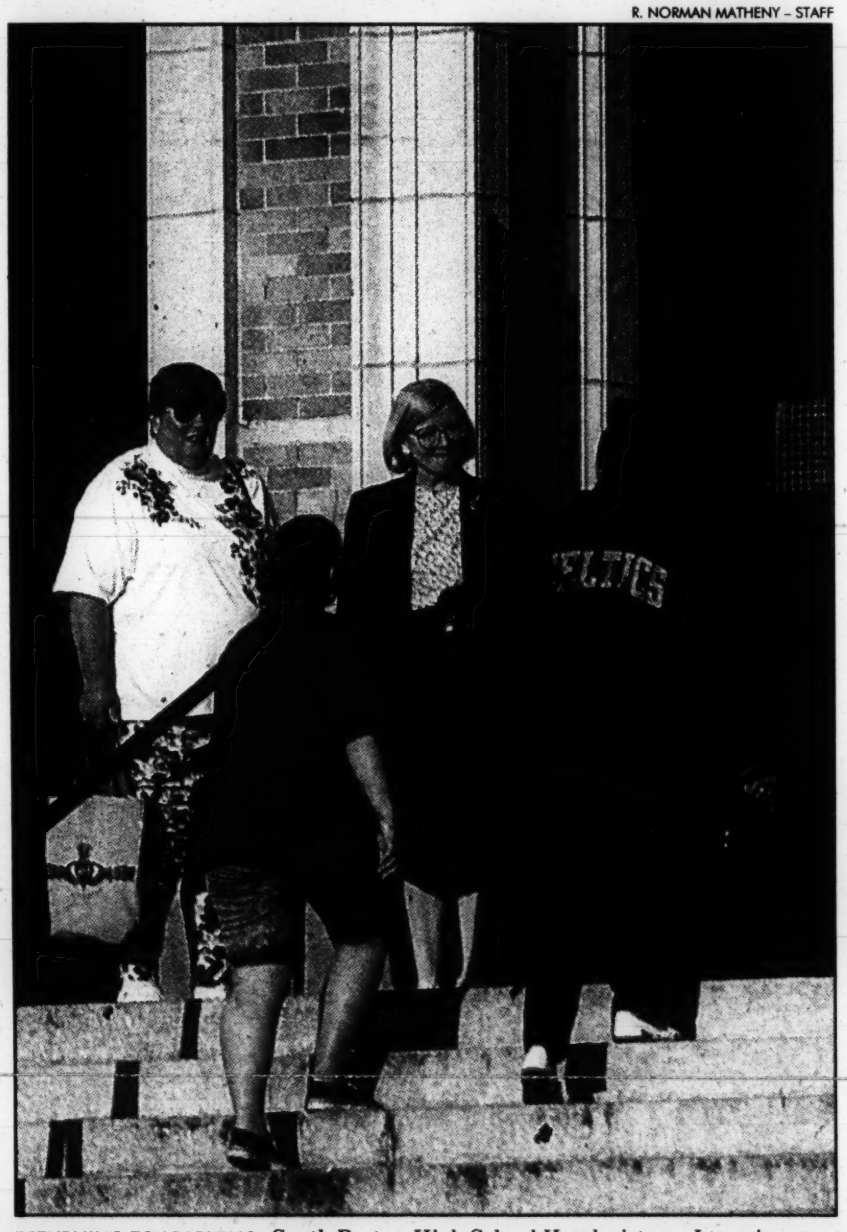
Although city and school officials have downplayed the confrontation, some residents say it is not over.

Boston School Committee Chairman Paul Parks, who is black, said recent events – and their racial component – were overplayed by the media. "If what happened last week happened in 1974, it would be seen as a minor incident."

However, two black men and one black woman arrested outside the school Tuesday for disturbing the peace held a press conference at which they said the situation is not peaceful. They said they were inviting students from public schools all over Boston to speak at a meeting Saturday.

"The children are in pain right now; we can't impose a peace on them" by ignoring the issues, said Bill Batson, one of those arrested. "It's inviting an explosion."

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



RETURNING TO LEARNING: *South Boston High School Headmistress Lorraine Hamilton welcomes students back Tuesday, five days after racial violence.*

GOP Blasts Clinton on Welfare Reform

WASHINGTON

A HOUSE of Representatives panel is backing President Clinton's request to delay a requirement that thousands of parents on welfare work for their benefits.

When he was governor of Arkansas, Mr. Clinton pushed for the 1988 welfare-reform law that includes work and on-the-job training requirements for unemployed parents who receive cash assistance under Aid to Families with Dependent Children, or AFDC.

But his administration now says the measure, scheduled to take effect in October, would be a burden on the states and would shift money from education and training programs to long-term welfare mothers.

The administration had asked for a two-year delay in the law, but the House Ways and Means Committee voted Tuesday to postpone it for just one year. The panel included the item in legislation to cut the deficit.

Republicans argued that in seeking the delay, Clinton was retreating from his campaign pledge to reform welfare. "His first move in dealing with welfare reform ... to repeal one of the better pieces of existing law, which made the move from welfare to workfare, is an outrage," said Sen. Don Nickles (R) of Oklahoma.

– Associated Press

US Foreign Aid Gets a New Look

Emphasis will be on promoting democracy, cleaner environment, population control

By Ben Barber
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THIRTY-TWO years ago President Kennedy created the Agency for International Development (AID) to fight "widespread poverty and chaos" in underdeveloped nations. Now President Clinton, who looks to his Democratic predecessor for inspiration, is retargeting the $6.9 billion-a-year foreign assistance program after the end of the cold war.

RECASTING GOVERNMENT

For decades, AID was used as a political weapon against Soviet allies and surrogates in Southeast Asia, Central America, Africa, and the Middle East. The third world still faces increasing poverty, disease, overpopulation, environmental destruction, and ethnic or religious conflict.

But while the need for foreign aid is growing, both the United States budget and Americans' sympathy for foreign aid is shrinking. Polls show Americans feel their money should address poverty at home.

Another problem is that AID funds often have wound up in the pockets of corrupt third-world rulers. In the early 1980s, for example, a $25 million AID project in Bangladesh to improve irrigation made the adjacent land increase in value so sharply that speculators and rich landowners bought it from the farmers, who ended up landless. Other AID loans to improve land were available only to the wealthy farmers who could meet credit criteria. But they wound up using the US cash to buy more land rather than improving what they already had.

Seeking a new direction for foreign aid, the State Department in the Clinton administration has launched a major policy review of the AID program. That review "is basically ready," says a department spokeswoman. "Consultations are going on with the Hill and within the State Department and it could be ready next week."

She would not reveal any details of the review. But a congressional staff member who deals with foreign aid said that, under the retooled AID, "there will be less stress on the private sector and less support for specific businesses or government agencies," than under the Bush administration.

"More aid will be delivered through nongovernmental organizations and at the community level and the recipients will be more involved. There will be more support for democracy," the aide says.

The Clinton administration already has reversed some key Reagan and Bush development policies, approving aid for population planning and signing the Rio convention on biodiversity passed at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development last year.

Although many existing Reagan and Bush programs that promote democracy and health are likely to remain unchanged, J. Brian Atwood, who was sworn in this week as AID's administrator, sketched out in his confirmation hearings a new direction for US foreign aid. Mr. Atwood said his four major goals will be:

- Promoting democracy, social justice, and human rights.
- Backing sustainable development that protects the environment.
- Preventing world population from exploding to 12 million or 13 billion people in the next 50 years.
- And responding rapidly to disasters such as the Somalia famine.

Atwood admits that AID is "encumbered by excessive red-tape and beaten down by poor morale" and that there is a clamor at home to "empower people in South Central Los Angeles as well as Somalia." But he makes the case that foreign aid is far from pure altruism. It's aimed, he says, at throwing the cooling water of cash, expertise, and medicine on problems, such as AIDS and Haitian boat people, that lap at America's shores.

For example, he says, AID would be unlikely to give money to fight goiter in Nepal, which is not viewed as a threat to the US, but would fight measles in Guatemala, which is considered a th. eat.

As he seeks to reshape AID, Atwood can rely on a stream of suggestions from think-tanks and academic experts who have been studying foreign aid closely.

Dr. Janet Brown of World Resources Institute in Washington, who prepared a policy paper on foreign aid for the Clinton transition team and testified last week before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee, said that in the future AID should focus on empowering people so they participate in decisionmaking and teaching third-worlders how to get access to technical, legal, and credit information.

Jack Sullivan, a former AID Asia director, says that AID can take credit for helping stamp out smallpox, introducing oral rehydration for cholera, and establishing agricultural universities in India that have helped prevent famines since the 1960s.

"But now, they should reduce the focus of the program and concentrate on those issues that are clearly in the US interest and which we can affect through those programs," he says. "There's relatively few – environment, health, population. Especially things that come across our borders such as drugs; and situations of peacekeeping, where it's definitely in our interest to respond. Or assisting agricultural production on fragile lands.

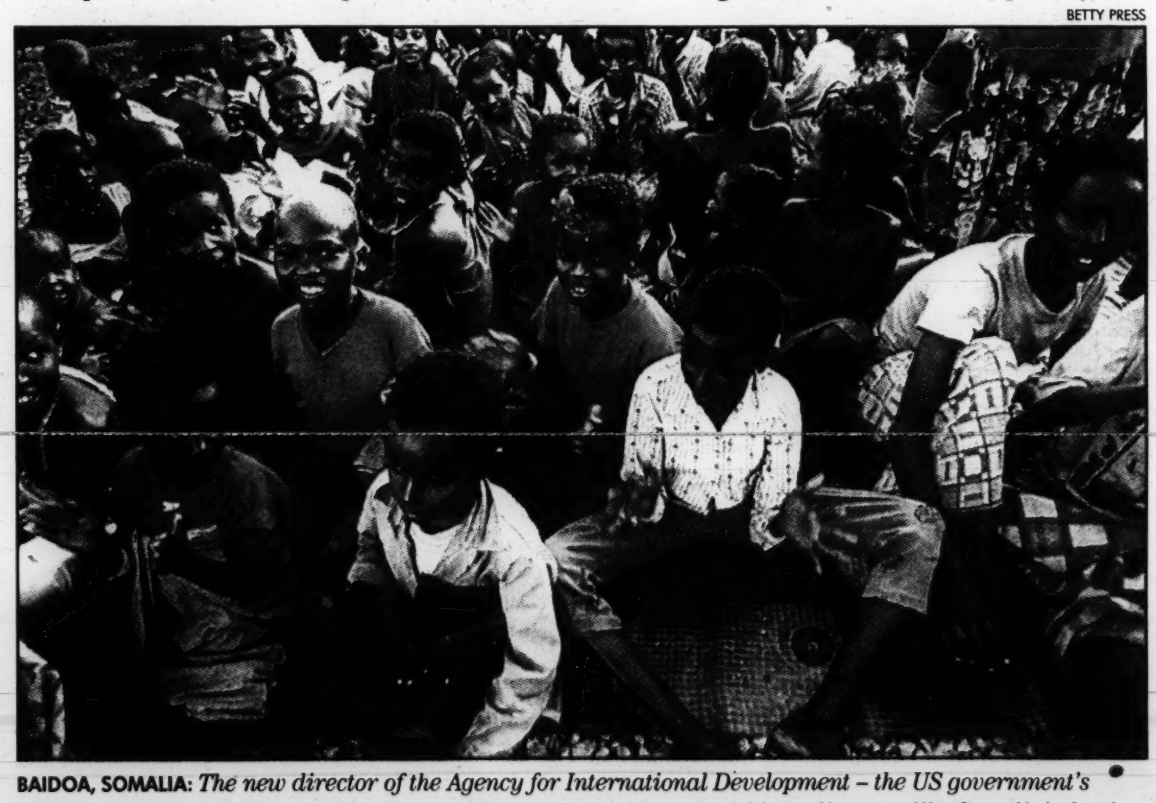
One way AID would be more targeted, according to John Sewell of the Overseas Development Council in Washington, is "to help countries that help themselves." Mr. Sewell is the author of a 1992 white paper called "Reinventing Foreign Aid," which Atwood helped draw up before being appointed to run AID.

"I guess that environment, poverty, and democracy will be the major focus of AID reforms," Mr. Sewell says.

That, he says, is a major change from the mid-1980s, a time when "AID was driven by the political interests of the State Department."

He said that AID tried to force countries to adopt liberal economic policies and a market economy but "where our aid was big enough to get a seat at the [decision-making] table, such as in Egypt, we were not about to rock the boat and jeopardize the government in power. Everywhere else, our aid was too small."

BETTY PRESS



BAIDOA, SOMALIA: *The new director of the Agency for International Development – the US government's main foreign-assistance organization – pledges to respond more quickly to disasters like Somalia's famine.*

Dakota Official Pleads Guilty In HUD Probe

WASHINGTON WATCH

INDEPENDENT counsel Arlin Adams's investigation of corruption at the Reagan-era Department of Housing and Urban Development has snared a North Dakota state official.

Robert Olsen, a top staff member of North Dakota's Housing Finance Agency, pleaded guilty Tuesday to one count of bribery and one count of conspiracy in US District Court. In his plea bargain with prosecutors, Mr. Olsen admitted to receiving more than $50,000 from a group of developers to steer federal housing funds to their projects. He faces a maximum sentence of 15 years in prison and $500,000 in fines.

This is the sixth guilty plea that Mr. Adams has won during his three-year investigation. But the two cases that have gone to trial have not been big victories for the independent counsel: In January, federal juries in Washington acquitted developer Victor Cruse of all charges and, in a separate case, convicted former HUD official Lance Wilson and two developers on only the most minor charges against them.

The likely next targets of the independent counsel probe are the developers implicated by Olsen's plea-bargain. One of them – Jerry Meide of North Dakota – already is cooperating with prosecutors. The others – J. Michael Queenan and Ronny Mahon, both former employees of HUD's Denver office – probably will come under heavy pressure from prosecutors to follow suit. Another associate of Messrs. Queenan and Mahon, Denver developer Philip Winn, pleaded guilty in February to influence-peddling.

The next trials in the HUD case are scheduled for late June, when Deborah Gore Dean and Thomas Demery – both one-time top aides to former HUD Secretary Samuel Pierce – will face a raft of corruption charges in US District Court in Washington.

■ *Max Boot reports from Boston.*

'Motor voter' roars ahead

They did it on the stimulus package, but on the "motor voter" bill, Senate Republicans could not present a united front. Thanks to the defection of six Republicans, Democrats managed to break a GOP filibuster on Tuesday and virtually assure passage of the measure that will make voter registration easier. But Sen. David Durenberger (R) of Minnesota, who now supports the bill, said the filibuster helped improve "motor voter" by adding GOP amendments intended to prevent voter fraud.

– From wire services

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proposals worries supporters.

Criticized by utility companies on his energy tax, Clinton softened. He agreed that firms could list the additional fuels tax as a separate item on customers' bills. The tax would rise in three stages – in the summers of 1994, 1995, 1996.

Under fire for suggesting that health-care costs could be paid, in part, with new alcohol taxes, the White House again weakened. Beer would be exempt.

Faced with defeat of its $30 billion investment tax credit to stimulate business, the White House gave up. Instead, Clinton edged toward a smaller increase in the corporate tax rate. He first wanted a 2 percent rise, to 36 percent. Now the final rate could be 35.25 percent, or less.

Republicans and some Democrats predict more changes coming, with some of the biggest originating in the Senate. Democrats hold only an 11-to-9 edge in the all-important Senate Finance Committee.

FOR the next few weeks, however, the focus will be on the House, beginning with the Ways and Means Committee, headed by Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D) of Illinois. Ways and Means will decide on $299.8 billion of Clinton's deficit-reduction measures. Among those will be an increase in the amount of Social Security subject to taxation, higher energy levies, and higher corporate and individual income taxes.

Ways and Means has a Friday deadline. Then leaders hope the entire budget can be approved in the full House before July 4. Senate action may come by Labor Day. The new fiscal year begins Oct. 1.

Rep. Timothy Penny (D) of Minnesota, an ardent deficit fighter, says the mood of Congress has shifted toward spending cuts, and away from tax increases. That's why the president's budget could encounter problems. "If anything, the Clinton budget, with its high-profile taxes, increased the public's desire to see cuts," Representative Penny says.

Republicans and cost-conscious Democrats may combine their efforts to force additional budget cuts, Penny says. One possible option is a cap on entitlement spending. Such a cap may be essential if spending for entitlements like Medicare or Social Security begins exceeding their budgeted levels in two, three, or four years.

Rep. Lamar Smith (R) of Texas, a member of the House Budget Committee, says Clinton's problem on the Hill is that "while he is personally popular, his programs are not selling well across the country. [This is] the largest tax increase in history, and two-thirds of it is going to new spending programs, not to reduce the deficit."

Like Penny, Representative Smith says: "The popular sentiment is to reduce the deficit more than for government to spend more.... At three town meetings [attended by 500 people] in San Antonio, all I heard was about the need to reduce the deficit and balance the budget."

Voters told the congressman: "We are taxed enough. The government already spends enough," he reports.

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nian official said that they had asked for clearer guarantees that a proposed cease-fire and halt in military activities will be enforced by international peacekeepers.

After more than a year of failed negotiation attempts, most officials guard against optimism. "It's obviously a significant step forward," says an official of one of the three mediating countries, "but there's still a long way to go."

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF

The fighting centers on the Armenian-populated enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh within Azerbaijan, now under the effective control of Armenian fighters organized by the self-proclaimed Nagorno-Karabakh republic. In late March the Armenian forces seized the Kelbazhar corridor between Karabakh and the Armenian republic, purportedly to forestall an Azeri offensive. The escalation prompted broad condemnation of Armenian "aggression" and concern that the war could widen into a regional conflict.

The Armenian government says that changes in the tripartite peace plan are needed to convince the hard-line Armenian forces in Karabakh to agree to complete withdrawal from the Kelbazhar region. The Karabakh government wants an early deployment of international monitors, before withdrawal is completed, "to ensure that this is not just a way for Azerbaijan to get Kelbazhar back, to remilitarize Kelbazhar, and to gain time to start major military operations in two months," Mr. Libaridian said.

A senior Western official in Paris told the Reuters news agency on May 11 that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which has been sponsoring peace talks on the conflict, is preparing to send 600 peacekeepers to Nagorno-Karabakh as soon as the warring sides agree to the cease-fire plan.

The peace plan was drawn up after two days of meetings in Moscow in late April and presented to the warring parties on May 3. It calls for:

- The withdrawal of Armenian forces from the Kelbazhar region, which links Armenia with the Karabakh enclave in Azerbaijan.
- A two-month long cease-fire and standstill in military activities in the battle area.
- Preliminary negotiations between Armenia and Azerbaijan in Geneva from May 17-22 under the auspices of Russia, Turkey, and the United States.
- The resumption of negotiations within the CSCE.
- And finally, preparation of a peace settlement by July 1. The plan calls for the deployment of an unspecified "international authority" to verify compliance with the withdrawal and cease-fire.

The initiative followed signs that both the Armenian and Azeri governments were open to serious talks. The clearest indication of that came on April 21-22 when Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and Azeri President Abulfaz Elchibey met for the first time when both were attending the funeral of Turkish President Turgut Ozal. The two men agreed to try to restart the stalled peace talks.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin offered his own mediation effort shortly after that. On April 30 the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution calling for a cease-fire, withdrawal of Armenian forces from Azeri territory, and unimpeded access for humanitarian relief supplies.

The US role has been key to gaining the trust of both sides to the conflict. The Armenians are suspicious of Turkey's role, accusing it of backing its ethnic and religious kin in Azerbaijan, including providing arms. The Azeris for their part are wary of Russia, seeing it as being pro-Armenian and worrying that Russian forces may use the Caucasus conflict to reassert their traditional imperial role.

Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, on a visit this week to Turkey, clearly echoed some Armenian views. According to a report from the official Itar-Tass news agency, Mr. Grachev expressed concerns about the supply of arms to Azerbaijan by "some states."

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and argued emotionally for keeping current policy.

"Nunn didn't even have to hijack this issue," says the congressional source. "It's like we said, 'Here are the keys, Sam. Take the car.' "

Clinton has the executive power to order the ban ended on his own. But Republican lawmakers have said they would push legislation reinstating the gay exclusion if Clinton does this.

It is not clear how a congressional bill on the issue would fare. Conservatives such as Rep. G.V. (Sonny) Montgomery (D) of Mississippi have warned proponents of gay rights not to push them too far. "I'm not sure you could win an up-or-down vote," Mr. Montgomery said in a House hearing on the subject last week.

Public opinion polls tend to be either indecisively split on gay rights or leaning toward disapproval. A recent USA Today survey found 41 percent of respondents supported President Clinton's position.

If nothing else, the congressional hearings on this subject have revealed one fact: Whatever happens, debate will not end. The gays-in-the-military issue is becoming as emotional and polarized as the long-standing national debate over abortion rights.

OPPONENTS of lifting the ban have portrayed the effort as something that would inevitably damage the military by undermining the cohesion of combat units, and thus threaten US national security.

General Schwarzkopf has been perhaps the most effective public proponent of this view. On Tuesday he presented himself as a moderate because, he said, he does not anathematize gays. But with his familiar bluntness he left no doubt where he stood.

"In every case that I'm familiar with ... when it became known in a unit that someone was openly homosexual, polarization occurred, violence sometimes followed, morale broke down, and sometimes unit effectiveness suffered," Schwarzkopf said.

Proponents of allowing homosexuals in the military present the issue as one of civil rights. Opposition to gays, in their view, is based on blatant prejudice – on the ill-informed view, they say, that gay men in particular are chain-swinging, leather-clad seducers of children.

Proponents say the gays that have joined the military and kept their orientation secret over the years are mostly hard-working people who serve their country. For comparison, they point out that most heterosexual military members are not like the Navy pilots who pawed women at the infamous Tailhook convention.

"Sexual orientation does not equal sexual misconduct," retired Army Col. Karl Cropsey, who hid his homosexuality during his career, told the House last week.

One key point of disagreement appears to be the very nature of homosexuality. Those who would keep gays out of the military, such as Schwarzkopf, have almost universally told legislators that they believe people choose to be gay, that it is a lifestyle.

Most of the pro-gay witnesses have said, on the other hand, that they believe homosexuality to be innate, a combination of biology and environment that they cannot change, even if they wished it.

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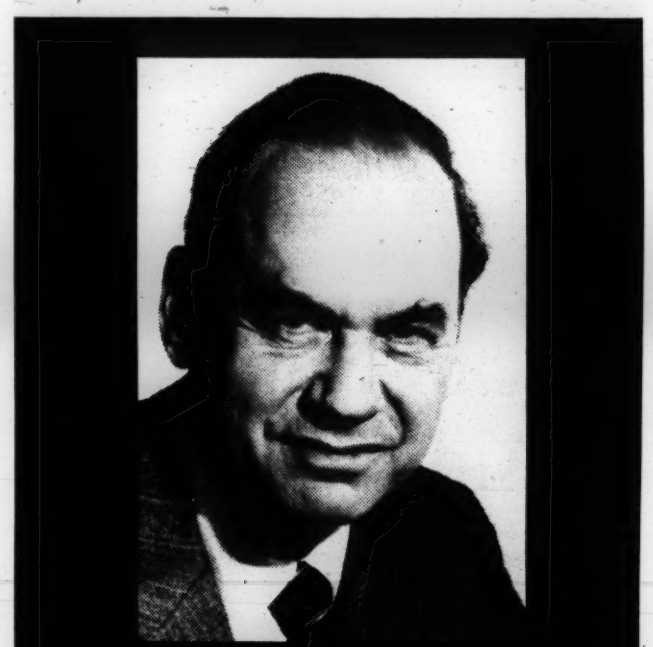
How To Understand The Universe, Atoms- - And Yourself In

SCIENCE & DISCOVERY

Now you can hear both folly and triumph as history's greatest minds pursue the great truths of science

We live in a time that takes much for granted – air travel, abundant energy, long lifespans... the list could fill the front and back of this page -- and more. Yet today's vast scientific knowledge was *not inevitable*, and mankind's progress is *not finished.*

To see how today's rapid advances might shape our future, we need to know how the spirit of discovery flourishes and how it can be frustrated– and these insights can be found in the lessons of the past.



***Edwin Newman**, narrator of Science & Discovery, is a celebrated journalist, author, and lecturer. He was for 35 years a television journalist for NBC News, and he's familiar to millions as a moderator of presidential debates. Here Mr. Newman tells the story of science and discovery in his distinctively clear and direct style.*

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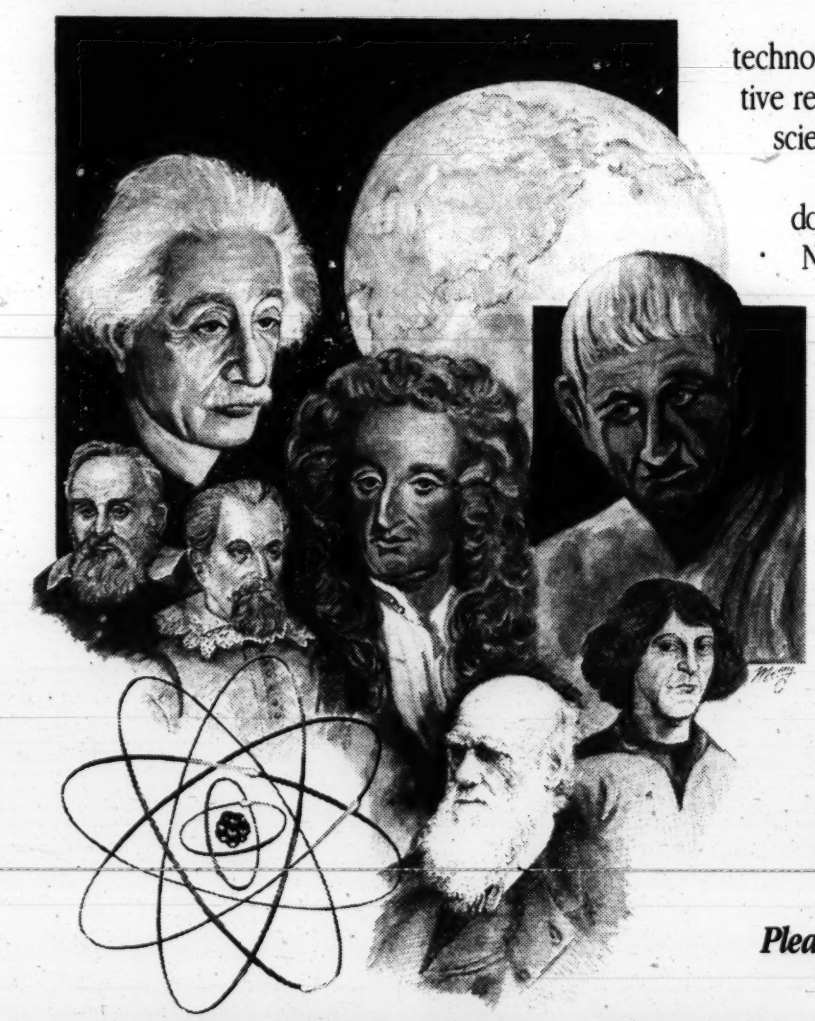

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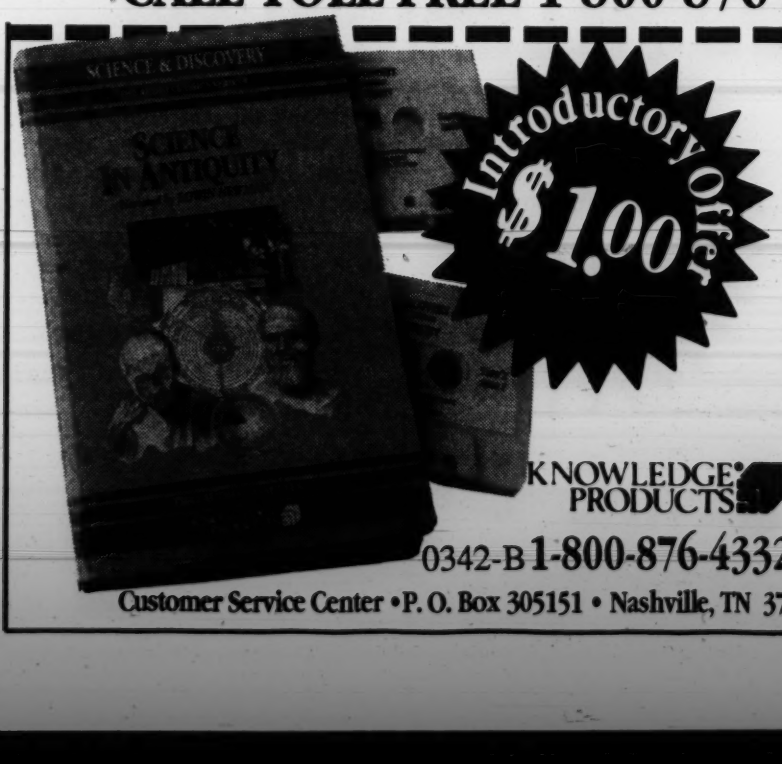

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INTERNATIONAL

As population rises and economic growth falls, Africa needs increased Western assistance and a redirection of its own resources

African Nations Lack Fair Share Of Aid and Attention, Reports Say

By Robert M. Press
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
NAIROBI, KENYA

LIFE is getting tougher for most Africans, as economic growth slows and population rates continue to rise faster than anywhere else in the world, according to two major reports issued this week – one from Africa, and one from Washington.

And by the end of this century, it is estimated that half the deaths in the world caused by AIDS will occur in Africa, according to the World Health Organization (WHO), which met this week in Geneva.

Taken together, the three reports underline the need for increased Western assistance to Africa, as well as some shifting of African priorities, according to both Western and African analysts.

"To a certain extent, Africa is being seen as a basket case," says David Whaley, resident representative here of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). But, he added in an interview here yesterday, "there has been a massive diversion of resources and attention from Africa" to other parts of the world, especially Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Africa is no longer getting its fair share, which will make tackling economic and population problems all the harder, he says. "There should be a marked increase of resources" to Africa from the West, Mr. Whaley says.

In Geneva, WHO officials complain that not enough money is being committed by the developing world to the fight against AIDS, especially in places like Africa.

But it is not just a matter of more money, experts say.

African governments, for example, should redirect some of their own spending away from their armies to AIDS educational programs, the African Development Bank (ADB) said yesterday as it opened its annual meeting in Abidjan, capital of the Ivory Coast.

The ADB also criticized some African governments, including Tanzania's, for trying to meet donor demands for slimmer federal budgets by chopping back educational and health services.

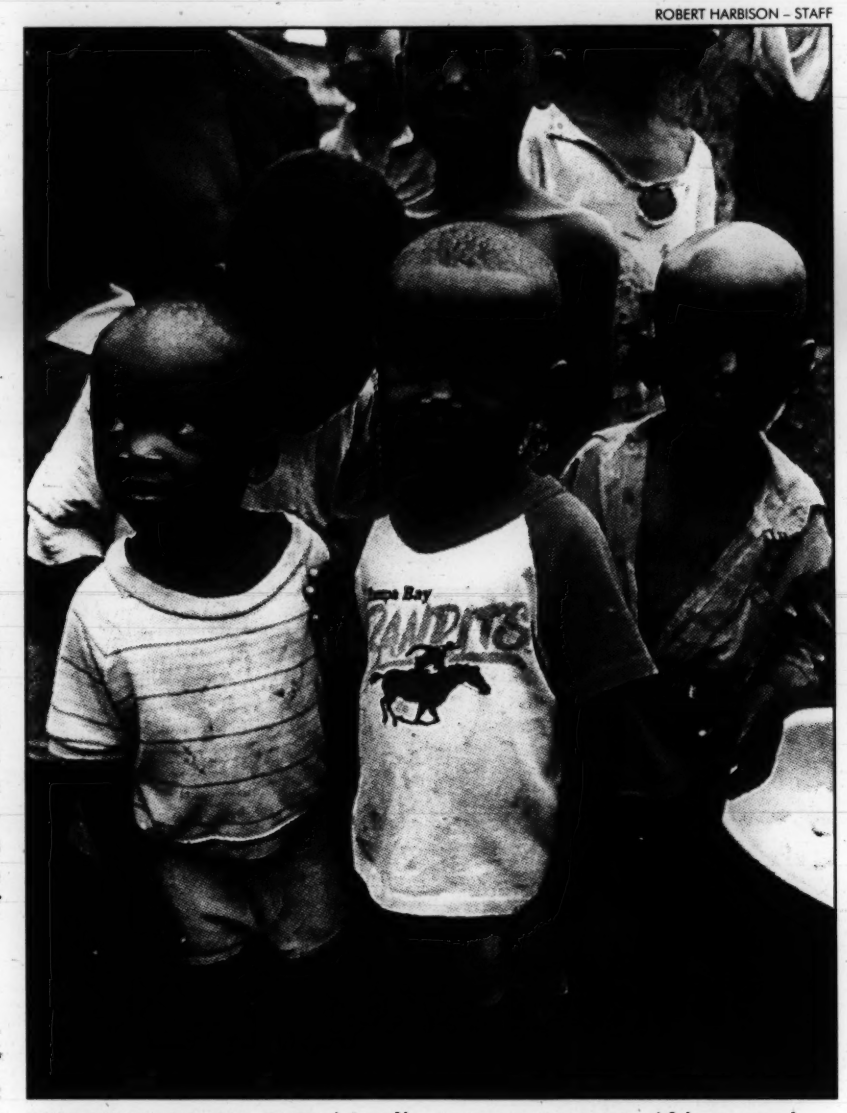
"Key social sector services, especially to the poor, often proved to be the softest targets for cuts," ADB vice president Ferhat Lounes told reporters in Abidjan. Such cutbacks can eventually slow development, he added. A better approach, according to the Bank, is to trim unproductive jobs in state companies, then retrain laid off workers.

Gloomy economic forecast

The ADB gave a gloomy economic forecast for Africa for 1993, noting that gross domestic product (GDP) had declined from 2.6 percent in 1991 to 1.9 percent in 1992. While the GDP may get back to 2.5 or 3 percent in 1993, it will not keep pace with Africa's 3.1 percent population growth rate, the Bank's report notes.

On May 11, the Washington-based Population Reference Bureau released its annual survey showing world population growing at the fastest pace ever – almost all of it in the developing world, and sub-Saharan Africa leading growth.

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF



CHILDREN IN KINSHASA, ZAIRE: *According to two new reports, Africans need increased Western and domestic assistance – both educational and financial – in order to face a brighter, self-sufficient future.*

The report cited a 3 percent growth rate for this region, a slightly lower figure than that used by the ADB.

By comparison, Asia – not counting China – is growing at 2.1 percent. Including China, the rate drops to 1.7 percent. Latin America is growing at 1.9 percent a year, the Bureau reports, adding that growth in the United States is 0.8 percent and in Europe it is virtually stagnant at 0.2 percent.

Family planning methods

The UNDP's Whaley says that in several African countries, including Kenya and Botswana, the average family has decided to have fewer children, for a variety of reasons, including major educational programs and provisions of family planning materials.

But there is a lag time between awareness of family planning methods and use of them, says Kenyan sociologist Rachel Musyoki of the University of Nairobi. "One has to be fully convinced at a personal level" of the need for smaller families, she says.

But she is optimistic that Africa's development can improve. "There's no lack of ideas, or technology," says Dr. Musyoki, calling on African governments to improve their development planning and use of donor funds.

Whaley says the Kenyan government has recently stepped up its efforts to get the message out on the dangers of AIDS.

But for Africa as a whole, the ADB report says that "with noticeable exceptions, there is still a lack of understanding of the gravity of the potential consequences" of AIDS.

At the WHO meeting in Geneva, delegates from the US and 37 other countries have called for WHO, the UNDP, and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) to improve their coordination in the battle against AIDS.

WHO estimates the number of people who may contract the HIV virus, which leads to AIDS, will increase to 30 million or even 40 million by the end of this decade. As many as 1.5 million people may die each year by the year 2000, half of them in Africa, WHO reports.

Limits on China Trade Likely, US Says

By Sheila Tefft
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
BEIJING

A SENIOR American envoy has told China that trade limits are "very likely" without more improvements in human rights, lower trade barriers, and curbs on arms sales.

Following two days of talks between Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord and Chinese Foreign Ministry officials, a US official acknowledged that while China has taken some steps to ease US concerns, roadblocks remain.

The visit by Mr. Lord, a former US ambassador to Beijing and an outspoken critic of Chinese human rights abuses, comes as President Clinton grapples with how far to push China.

In Congress, support is building for legislation that would make renewal of China's most-favored-nation trading status conditional on a better human rights record in Tibet and elsewhere in China, more open trade, and compliance with arms proliferation guidelines.

Mr. Clinton, who sharply criticized President Bush's vetoes of such bills in the past, must decide by June 3, the day before the anniversary of China's military crackdown on pro-democracy protesters in 1989.

The trading status allows China to pay the lowest possible tariffs, but more significantly, it has become a symbol of enduring cold-war strains in relations between the US and the last remaining communist power. Beijing says attaching conditions would send jeopardize ties.

"We have stressed in every case that we are not making new requests," said the official. "We are just asking China to implement the agreements," or China's commitments to allow US monitoring of prison labor used in export production, restrict high-technology weapons sales, and trim its huge trade surplus with the US.

Despite the release of several prominent political dissidents this year, US officials have accused China of exporting missiles to Pakistan and resettling large numbers of Chinese in rebellious Tibet. So far the US has been able to visit only one prison of five it has asked to see, diplomats say.

But countering congressmen and human rights activists who want Clinton to push China harder are outspoken business lobbies which contend that the US can't afford to distance itself from one of the world's fastest growing markets.

Shrewdly, China courts its US supporters with large orders for aircraft, automobiles, oil equipment, and agricultural products to underscore its trade links with the US, say diplomats in Beijing.

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Crisis on Hold, Rabin Tries To Save Israeli Coalition

But Cabinet rift persists, casting shadow on peace talks with Arabs

By Peter Ford
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JERUSALEM

DEFUSING a Cabinet crisis for a week, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has time to ponder the fragility of his coalition government.

But as he seeks to resolve the tussle between his two partners, the ultra-orthodox Shas Party, and the vigorously secular Meretz alliance, his options are limited. His only consolation is that both parties seem equally eager to help defuse the crisis.

"Everyone understands that this is the best government to advance the peace process, so everyone is making the maximum effort" to keep it alive, says Health Minister Haim Ramon.

Mr. Rabin appears determined not to allow his peace talks with neighboring Arab states to become hostage to the Cabinet crisis, even if Shas withdraws from the government, as it has threatened to do. That would reduce Rabin's Knesset (parliament) majority to two.

But Mr. Ramon argued Wednesday that "in a democracy, the difference between 51 percent and 49 percent is 100 percent. We can continue with our policies, and especially with the peace process," even with a reduced majority.

The Cabinet crisis shifted down a gear on Tuesday evening, when Interior Minister Aryeh Deri, the Shas leader, withdrew the resignation that he had offered two days earlier because his archrival Shulamit Aloni, the Meretz education minister, had not been fired for making allegedly antireligious statements.

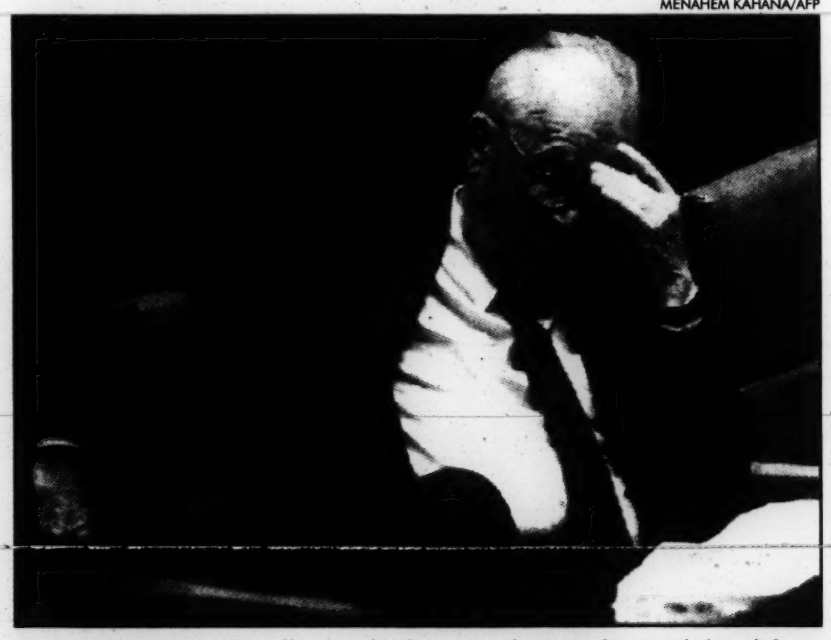
Instead Rabbi Deri and Ms. Aloni agreed to hand their portfolios over to Rabin for a week while he tries to engineer a ministerial reshuffle that will placate Shas and satisfy Meretz.

By giving Rabin another week to resolve the dispute, both Aloni and Deri pulled back from the brink of a full-scale government crisis that neither seems to want. "Shas has to stay in the government, or it loses all the sources of funding that finance its social institutions," says Ilan Greilshammer, an expert on the ultra-orthodox community. "And Meretz wants peace; it has nowhere else to go."

Rabin knows that, with 61 of the 120 Knesset members behind him even without Shas' six votes, he has a "blocking majority" that would prevent anyone except him from forming a government. "No one can move this government, and no one else can form one," points out Yael Dayan, a Labor Party member of the Knesset.

But that majority is dependent on the five Israeli Arab Knesset members, which makes Rabin uncomfortable about taking major initiatives on the peace front. Making no secret of their support for the Palestinian cause, the Arab parties are not ideal partners "at a special time like this, when we are deciding Israel's borders, and when Rabin has a problem convincing the Israeli public to trust him," says Daniel Ben Simon, a political commentator for the newspaper Davar.

MENAHEM KAHANA/AFP



AMID THE BICKERING: *Israel's premier has a week to resolve a ministerial dispute that threatens his coalition government's majority in parliament.*

For this reason, Rabin "will do everything he can both to maintain the current government and to explore the possibility of adding other parties to the coalition," says Shimon Sheves, director of the prime minister's office.

That will not be easy. Potential allies among the other ultra-orthodox parties have said they will not sit in a Cabinet with Meretz, while the right-wing Tsomet Party, to which Rabin made overtures when he formed his government last July, has said it could not support Rabin's approach to the peace talks.

Shas is demanding not only that Aloni leave the Education Ministry, but also that no Meretz member replace her. In that case, Aloni says, she will be satisfied only with the Foreign Ministry, or Deri's own Interior Ministry.

Should no deal prove possible, Rabin has promised Aloni a new job as culture and communications minister, while Meretz colleague Amnon Rubinstein would take over at Education.

Deri has already said he would not accept such a scheme, and would resign.

Political observers here are hard pressed to explain why Deri chose to provoke this Cabinet crisis by criticizing Aloni for making an allegedly antireligious statement at the recent Holocaust memorial celebrations in Warsaw.

But Shas leaders have been complaining recently that they are finding it increasingly hard to explain to their largely right-wing and extremely religious constituency what they are doing in a Cabinet with the outspokenly secular Aloni, and in a government making concessions to the Arabs in the peace talks.

"They needed a crisis to regain legitimacy in the ultraorthodox street," says Mr. Ben Simon, and ousting Aloni from her Education post has helped them.

"Meretz and Shas are always on an inevitable collision course," Dr. Greilshammer argues. "Shas gives Labor and Meretz a free hand on the policy front, so long as they don't make provocative statements about religion. But Meretz has to express itself, to satisfy its own constituency that it is not happy about Shas' funding.

"They'll both stay in the government, and there will be regular and periodic crises," Greilshammer predicts. "That's the game."

Balkan Neighbors Hope Bosnian Serbs Are Weary of War

By Eric Bourne

VIENNA

SO it is now up to the *real* Bosnian Serbs – not the political leaders and the warlords but the people on the ground – to decide whether the fighting is to stop. The fate of the whole Balkan region, not just Bosnia, seems in their hands.

It is not yet clear how many can vote in this weekend's referendum, called for by the self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament on May 5 when it rejected the peace formula proposed by international mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen. The most recent census – April 1991 – put the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina at almost 4,355,000; 31.3 percent registered as Serb. Of the republic's 109 municipalities, 32 had absolute Serb majorities and a further five had simple Serb majorities. (Comparable Muslim figures were 37 and 15.)

Just how many of an estimated 1.3 million Serbs are of voting age is not clear, nor does it matter.

PERSPECTIVES ON EASTERN EUROPE

What does matter is whether Bosnian Serbs have begun to feel as weary of and disenchanted by the war as their compatriots in Serbia proper have since early this year. The latters' loss of patience compelled Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to make the astonishing U-turn from his year-long defiance of international opprobrium and back the Vance-Owen plan.

After months of sanctions, societal peace in his rump Yugoslavia seemed precarious. The United Nation's decision to tighten the blockade spelled total economic collapse.

On top of this there came the remarkable "don't count on us" warning to the Serbs from Boris Yeltsin as soon as he had his vote of confidence in Russia's April 25 referendum.

It was a chilling signal that, though Mr. Yeltsin was still hesitant about military intervention, he was placing the Russian Federation firmly behind the UN's effort to stop the war.

It was a jolt indeed to all Serbs to learn that the cherished tradition of affinity between Orthodox mother Russia and Serbia counts much less now than the new Russia's desire for good relations with the West.

The Bosnian Serb parliament's rejection of the peace plan that their own leader Radovan Karadzic initialed a few days previously was quite predictable. His own guileful reservations (even as he signed) about the provisional UN map – which requires the Serbs to give up some 40 percent of territory they have conquered – could only fuel local hard-line resistance.

Lord Owen's description of the Athens signature as a "happy day" had an immediately hollow ring. It was certainly not a happy day for Bosnia's still multi-ethnic government, which now controls little more than 10 percent of the area allotted it by the UN.

If it came to implementation, could the Bosnians really count on the Serbs to honor the peace plan's call for demilitarization and withdrawal from occupied areas? Or its call to reverse the "ethnic cleansing?" And Sarajevo: How long might it survive as an "open city" governed by three constituent nations?

"What will the next days and nights bring?" asked rump Yugoslavia's President Dobrica Cosic ruefully after the May 5 rejection. Such misgiving is shared throughout the Balkans. A general anxiety was reflected in the presence at the May 5 meeting of Mr. Milosevic's only ally, Greek Premier Constantine Mitsotakis, to echo the Serb's warning that defying the UN must bring Western military intervention. Even if the plan does finally achieve a momentary cease-fire, Bulgaria, Albania, and Turkey see no guarantee against future wider conflict.

"The 'Greater Serbia' goal – with so much achieved in the past two years – will not be laid aside," a Bulgarian friend told me. "It can always be resumed by other means at a later date."

Unhappily, the West has dithered and differed about intervening at moments when it could have worked quickly. Now it is hostage again, this time to the half-million or so Bosnian Serbs who may vote in the referendum.

ECONOMY

Major Powers Try to Revive Trade Talks

By Ron Scherer
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

MICKEY KANTOR, the United States Trade Representative, will be rolling up his sleeves to move world trade talks forward when he meets with the trade ministers from Japan, Canada, and the European Community (EC) over the next two days in Toronto.

The aim of the talks is to restore some momentum to the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The talks to liberalize world trade started in Punta del Este, Uruguay in 1986. Last week, President Clinton said, "Our aim is to have tangible progress to report when Prime Minister Miyazawa hosts us in Tokyo in July." President Clinton has set a deadline of Dec. 15 for an overall agreement.

Trade observers don't expect this to be easy. "It's an uphill task and the angle gets steeper," says Chris Whalen, a trade analyst with his own firm in Washington.

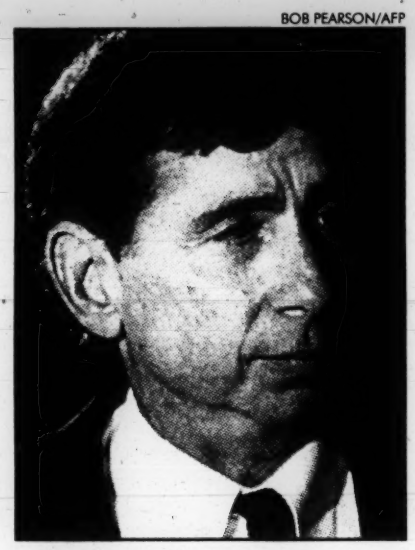
According to a European official, the major focus in Toronto will be on market access, a broad arena. "It runs the gamut from liberalizing access for services and investment, to protection of intellectual properties, to access for textiles and the reduction of tariffs," says Michael Aho, a trade specialist at the Council on Foreign Relations.

The trade talks follow bilateral meetings between the US and EC officials last week. Washington trade policy analyst Harry Freeman says the EC has become more interested in reaching an agreement in part because it has a new trade and external relations minister, Sir Leon Brittan, who has replaced Frans Andriessen.

"Sometimes when you bring in new teams you can achieve more," Mr. Freeman says.

Progress is important to keep the trade round from floundering. The French, for example, are not happy with an agricultural agreement reached last Nov. 21. An EC official notes that the French are waiting to see if they get satisfaction in other areas.

BOB PEARSON/AFP



TRADE REP. KANTOR: *The Clinton administration wants to reach a deal on world trade by Dec. 15.*

In November, the US and the EC agreed to cut internal price supports for agriculture by 20 percent across the board. In addition, they agreed to reduce agricultural export subsidies by 36 percent over six years and to reduce the actual volume of subsidized exports by 21 percent. Fair traders, such as Australia, hailed the agreement. But the US faces grumbling at home by agricultural interests such as peanut and dairy farmers who will now face stiffer competition.

Textiles remain a difficult area. The American Textile Manufacturing Institute Inc. (ATMI) has spent a considerable amount of time talking to Clinton officials about the trade talks.

The ATMI believes the Clinton negotiators now intend to reject a plan approved by the Bush negotiators to phase out the Multifiber Arrangement quickly. That deal set quotas on imports into the US. In addition, according to Carlos Moore, executive director of the ATMI, the Bush negotiators had agreed to cut textile tariffs by 50 percent in order to get the EC to support eliminating tariffs in other areas such as pharmaceuticals and non-ferrous metals. (In those deals, the US would eliminate its tariffs if other nations eliminated theirs.)

"We have talked to the Clinton people and they have listened. The 50 percent cut is no longer on the table," Mr. Moore says. Instead, he hopes the Clinton negotiators will try to change the world textile business to outlaw child labor, improve worker safety, and mandate environmentally friendly factories.

Some fret that the treaty won't go far enough. "It will be overly compromised," Freeman says. Mr. Aho says the final result will be a "modest result relative to the great objectives out there." The North American Free Trade Agreement, he adds, will end up opening more doors for the US than any new GATT agreement.

It is also uncertain if the Clinton administration can get Congress to extend fast-track approval for GATT. Under the fast-track process, Congress can only vote "yea" or "nay" on the treaty and cannot add amendments. Fast-track approval expired in March and the president has asked Congress to extend it until April 16, 1994. "Will someone try to attach an amendment to it," Aho asks. The legislation has just started working its way through the committee process.

Faint Sign of Economic Life Bubbles Up in California

By Scott Armstrong
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LOS ANGELES

COULD it be? Could it be that the wheezing California economy is finally showing some jump?

Don't bet your reservation at Spago restaurant on it.

But the big drop in the state's unemployment rate last month from 9.4 percent to 8.6 percent is the first faintly encouraging economic news here since the Dodgers were a contender. That's quite a while.

"It suggests that the decline in the number of jobs in the state economy is leveling out – and that we may, in fact, be adding jobs on a month-to-month basis," says Mark Green, an economist with Wells Fargo Bank in San Francisco.

Though no economist thinks the recession is over – indeed, some believe the April figure was just an aberration – the drop does at least give analysts something to talk about.

Until this point, looking for signs of new life in the California economy has resembled scanning the heavens for evidence of extraterrestrial intelligence.

"It certainly isn't bad news," says Robert Arnold, a senior economist with the Center for the Continuing Study of the California Economy in Palo Alto, Calif. "But you have to wait a while before you get excited. We just don't know yet."

April was the second month in a row that US Department of Labor reported a drop in California's jobless rate. The 8.6 percent figure, released last Friday, was the lowest since April of last year. Some 14 million people were at work in the state last month, a gain of 23,000 from March.

Even so, unemployment here remains well above the national average – which was unmoved at 7.0 percent in April – and among the highest of industrial states.

Yet some economists think the national jobless figure is far more telling for the state than the California number. While the Golden State is the world's seventh largest economy, it isn't an island.

"The important point is that the US economy is not turning around," says Mr. Arnold. "If the nation doesn't recover, don't expect California to."

Others caution that jobless statistics are volatile and subject to seasonal fluctuations. A single digit doesn't make a trend.

David Hensley, director of the business forecasting project at the University of California Los Angeles, notes that most other indicators – retail sales, real estate prices, help-wanted advertising – still show the state mired in a recession.

"I just don't think California has turned around to that point," he says. "Too many other things suggest that the state is still bumping along on the bottom."

While the jobless figure for Los Angeles County dipped from 10.4 percent to 9.4 percent last month, analysts say northern California continues to show more vitality than the southern part of the state.

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF

SAN FRANCISCO CABLE CAR: *Tourism has helped the northern California economy, while the southern part of the state struggles with defense layoffs and a commercial real estate glut.*

Tourism is strong in San Francisco and the wine country, and northern California hasn't been as affected by defense cutbacks as Los Angeles and San Diego counties. Southern California has also had a bigger glut of commercial real estate.

"We are seeing the beginnings of strength in the northern half of the state and the Central Valley," says Ken Ackbarali, an economist at First Interstate Bancorp. "But the southern half is still quite weak."

He doesn't expect a statewide turnaround until next spring, at least. Others are similarly dour. Mr. Hensley says the budget crunch in Sacramento and in cities up and down the state could result in the loss of 28,000 government jobs this year.

For now, Wells Fargo is sticking with its forecast that the state will lose 100,000 jobs in 1993.

The April jobless figures, though, may hint that the biggest losses have already occurred and that, as Mr. Green puts it, "we are beginning to see an increase in the number of jobs on the margins."

They Are Not 'Headhunters' Now; Call Them Corporate Consultants

Executive recruiting business booms as companies shuffle managers

By Suzanne L. MacLachlan
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

COMPANIES are shaking things up, and many top-level managers, presidents, and chief executive officers are finding themselves out of a job. This might not be good news for them, but it is very good news for executive search firms.

Executive search consultants, sometimes referred to as "headhunters," reported a booming business last year. Industry revenues were up 20 percent in 1992 and are expected to rise another 30 percent this year, according to an informal poll of 180 firms.

"Search firms are optimistic," says Glenn Van Doren, president of the Association of Executive Search Consultants Inc., which conducted the survey at its recent annual meeting. "This could taper off, but most consultants say it will not. If revenues drop in the second quarter, [search] firms predict they will be back up in the third and fourth quarters."

Pressure to change

Giants like IBM and Westinghouse are not the only ones changing upper-management ranks. Companies large and small are feeling pressure to replace unsatisfactory senior managers, and many are turning to executive search firms for help.

When John Akers left his post as CEO of IBM Corporation, the company's board hired Gerry Roche, chairman of Heidrick & Struggles Inc., to work with rival consultant Tom Neff of Spencer Stuart, to find a replacement. The fruits of their work came a brief two months later when Louis Gerstner, former head of RJR Nabisco, took over at IBM.

Often, the stakes are not as high and the searches not so well publicized, but the executive search industry has nonetheless enjoyed a boost in prestige.

"Because of publicity in the past two or three years, corporations have come to realize the value of search firms," Mr. Van Doren says. "Before they were known as headhunters, a rather pejorative term. Now they are truly considered consultants, broad advisors to management."

"We're not management consultants, ... but we're very good at understanding the kinds of leadership structures that are necessary for a company," says Sam Marks, marketing consultant for Heidrick & Struggles in New York.

Corporations have been replacing senior management for performance-related reasons for a number of years, notes David deWilde, managing director of Chartwell Partners International Inc. in San Francisco. But when companies began to rely less on the volume of workers and focus more on the quality of senior management, they realized it was time for a change in the way they hire senior managers, he says.

"With smaller, more tightly focused management teams the strengths and weaknesses become more obvious," Mr. deWilde says. "There is a greater tendency not to ride with people who are viewed as mediocre."

Companies are increasingly looking outside their own four walls for skillful, motivated executives to turn business around.

"Businesses are looking for the [management] talent and not necessarily the functional background," says Pendleton James, chairman of Pendleton James and Associates Inc. of New York. A good example of that, he says, is Mr. Gerstner – a food and tobacco executive – being tapped to save a struggling computermaker.

Specialization grows

Companies are hiring search firms not only to fill management posts, but also to find the best people to sit on their boards. Searches for corporate directors were up 78 percent last year from 1991, the Association of Executive Search Consultants reports.

Because of the special nature of board searches, Heidrick & Struggles trains certain employees in each of its offices to specialize in that work.

In fact, the firm has become oriented toward numerous practice specialties. The firm now trains its employees in specific areas such as technology, entertainment, and financial services.

"Before, companies set out to hire one person," Marks says. "Now we're beginning to see a quantum leap where firms are saying, 'Help us think through what we truly need at the top of our firm to help it grow.' "

More Middle Managers Going Back to Work

BOSTON

SOME good news for middle managers: The employment pace is picking up.

Unemployed mid-level managers are finding work in near-record time, according to Challenger, Gray & Christmas Inc., an international outplacement consulting firm in Chicago. Outplacement firms are hired by companies to help managers and other workers whose jobs have been phased out find new employment.

In the first quarter of 1993, the median job-search time was three months, the second lowest in the 15-year history of the Challenger Index.

Almost all the managers – 93 percent – were hired at salaries equal to or better than their previous jobs, the index found. The index researches unemployment figures and job-search information.

This is good news for a class of workers whose jobs have become vulnerable as technology reshapes the workplace. It also may be good news for the overall economy. Typically, managers are brought in six months before new general hiring begins, says James Challenger, president of Challenger, Gray & Christmas.

"When search times decrease and the number of people who find equivalent or better jobs goes up, that signals to us that there is enhanced optimism on the part of business managers about their businesses," adds John Challenger, executive vice president.

Outplacement firms usually do not recommend that their clients use executive search firms. Executive search, true to its name, is almost exclusively for top executives. "Search firms ... are often very reluctant to bring in a candidate who has been discharged from another job," Mr. Challenger says. He says search firms sometimes hire out-of-work managers when they are looking for very specific qualifications.

– S. L. M.

LAGGING PRODUCTIVITY

Strike in Eastern Germany Reveals Gap With West

By Francine S. Kiefer
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BONN

THE strike among east Germany's metal, engineering, and steel workers is about much more than the demand for higher wages. It mirrors the debate that sprang from German reunification: Are east Germans second-class citizens economically compared with west Germans?

The strike raises the question as to whether east Germany can attract investors if wages there are much higher than elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

Workers began their strike last week, the first in over 60 years, to force the reinstatement of a contract bringing their wages up to parity with west German wages by 1994. The agreement, signed two years ago, called for wage increases of over 20 percent as of April 1 of this year. But employers reneged on the contract, saying the agreement had become unfeasible due to recession and other economic factors.

They instead offered pay increases of 9 percent this year, on par with the current east German rate of inflation. East Germans in these industries earn about 60 to 70 percent of what west Germans earn, though their productivity lags by as much as 70 percent.

The strike raises the question as to whether east Germany can attract investors if wages there are much higher than elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

Franz Steinkühler, president of IG Metall, the powerful engineering union that organized the strike, argues that the east should not become a "cheap-wage colony" of the west. Workers east of the Elbe River deserve the same treatment as those in the west, he says.

But West German union members haven't shown a great deal of support for their colleagues in the east. Yesterday, as a sign of "solidarity" with their eastern colleagues, west German workers staged brief demonstrations – mostly during their lunch break. So far, they have not been willing to make any greater sacrifice to help their poorer cousins.

West Germans have something to gain at the moment from the demise of industry in the east. Recession is hitting western steel plants and shipyards, leading to job losses. The less competitive their eastern counterparts become, the better for westerners in the short run. "Every wage increase in east Germany protects a job in west Germany," says Klaus-Werner Schatz, economist at the Institute for the World Economy in Kiel. Mr. Schatz says that by striking for 20-percent-plus wage increases, east Germans "are striking their own jobs away."

Even though metal, engineering, and steel workers in the east German states of Thuringia, Saxony-Anhalt, and Berlin-Brandenburg voted this week to join the rest of east Germany in the strike, ambivalence among the strikers is coming across in the media.

They appear unsure as to why they are striking: whether to reinstate the contract, protest against unemployment, or to make sure they receive higher unemployment benefits if they lose their jobs. They are also aware that the higher their wages, the less attractive their region becomes for investors.

Mostly due to the recession, several big-name German firms have canceled investment plans in the region. These include Audi, Mercedes-Benz, Krupp steel, and Holtzmann. But Commerzbank economist Pieter Pietsch says "there is so far no broad" investment pullout from east Germany.

Negotiations between industry and labor are scheduled to restart today, and IG Metall is hinting that it can accept a delay in parity if this year's expected wage increases are reinstated.

The only alternative for east Germany now is to "become a high-technology, capital-intensive economy," Lothar Späth, chief executive of the Jenoptik laser-electronics firm in east Germany, told the Financial Times.

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Alan Bunce

■ THURSDAY

Knots Landing: a 'Block Party' and a Last Edition *(CBS, 8-11 p.m.)*: Several long-running series – like this show, "Cheers," "Quantum Leap," and "The Wonder Years" – are bowing out this season in an orgy of expanded editions and fond reminiscences. "Knots Landing," a steamy, soap-opera-ish program not universally admired despite its popularity, premièred in 1979, putting it near the top of the longevity list. The final episode will be preceded by "Block Party," in which its stars recall favorite episodes with the help of old clips, an approach that's becoming a common endgame for these marathon series. The practice milks the reservoir of memories and loyalty on the part of long-term fans, and it capitalizes on the occasion to create an "event" program of the kind that has done increasingly well in ratings during the past few years. In the final show itself, actor Donna Mills returns, joining Ted Shackelford and Michele Lee, who have been cast members since 1979.

■ FRIDAY

George Marshall and the American Century *(PBS, 9-10:30 p.m.)*: This in-depth documentary profiles a great man often overshadowed by the military stars of World War II – like Douglas MacArthur and Dwight D. Eisenhower – despite his enormous contributions. These include his military master-minding as chief of staff, his service as Secretary of State, and his sustaining achievement, the Marshall Plan, that helped postwar Europe recover and won him the 1953 Nobel Peace Prize.

USS Wisconsin: The Last Battleship *(PBS, 10:30-11 p.m.)*: As subjects of a documentary, these ships are a natural – especially this battleship, the last to be built in the United States. It saw duty from World War II right up through the Persian Gulf war, and its 16-inch guns – you'll see and hear them fired for the last time – are the largest operational ones in any navy. The show's producer and a reunion crew of some 200 former sailors from the ship took a cruise that yielded interviews and other bits of nostalgia and history.

Please check local listings for all programs, especially those on PBS.

ARTS

Sol LeWitt's Wall Drawings Devour The Viewer

A retrospective at the Addison Gallery near Boston reaffirms his leading role

By Addison Parks
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ANDOVER, MASS.

IN the late 1960s, Sol LeWitt made his mark in the art world with his spare and platonic Module Unit sculptures. Twenty-five years later the Addison Gallery of American Art in Andover, Mass., is celebrating this international artist for other kinds of marks, the ones made on walls.

This stately treasure of a museum a half hour north of Boston is generously housing a sprawling retrospective "Sol LeWitt: Twenty-five Years of Wall Drawings, 1968-1993." It is an expansive visual experience curated on a grand scale, the sort of progressive exhibition rarely attempted outside a major art center.

While wall painting is the most ancient of practices, from cave paintings and Italian frescoes to murals, many people credit LeWitt with revitalizing and reclaiming this territory for his own.

The truth is that Mr. LeWitt is neither sculptor nor painter, but a conceptual artist.

Two and a half decades ago he helped pioneer a movement that radically changed the face of art. It was the final triumph of the Modernist art revolution that began in the early years of this century, and it challenged and toppled some of the best-established conventions about what art was. The most cherished of these was the notion of the artist as craftsman, and of art as a physical product industriously toiled over by the artist.

Conceptual artists, however, shared a more philosophical and less tangible conviction about the creative gift. They asserted that it was an original experience that flowered in the artist's imagination, and that was where art "happened." LeWitt clearly stated in 1967, and the quote is repeated in the catalog essay: "In conceptual art the idea or concept is the most important aspect of the work. When an artist uses a conceptual form of art, it means that all of the planning and decisions are made beforehand and the execution is a perfunctory affair."

As the result of this kind of priority and focus, teams of assistants, and not LeWitt, take to ladders and scaffolds with ink-soaked rag or chalk in hand to realize his vision. LeWitt's color notations and dimensions are translated into floor-to-ceiling and wall-to-wall paintings and drawings that transform the space into an experience-in-the-round.

While wall painting is the most ancient of practices, from cave paintings and Italian frescoes to Works Progress Administration murals, many people credit LeWitt with revitalizing and reclaiming this territory for his own, forging it into a modern idiom.

What is so immediately impressive about this exhibition is the way in which the work exists directly on the large museum walls, devouring the viewer within an odyssey of endless spatial manipulation, formal invention, rich color dialogue, jarring disorientation, and soaring geometry.

From skylit gallery to skylit gallery, all the forces of formalist Abstraction are at play, laid out like an amusement park inviting us to just get on and ride. It is that pure and simple.

As instrumental as his Modular Unit sculptures were in guaranteeing LeWitt recognition as an artist 25 years ago, it is the wall drawings that command attention today. The sculpture is structural and geometric; framework cubes arranged to form larger shapes, initiating a shockwave of echoing rectilinear patterns.

Even though LeWitt has been doing the wall drawings for almost the same length of time, and although they share similar formal concerns, their basic nature makes them less permanently visible. Since these works are painted or drawn directly on the wall, they are "temporary," and act as an installation that will be painted over when the exhibition ends.

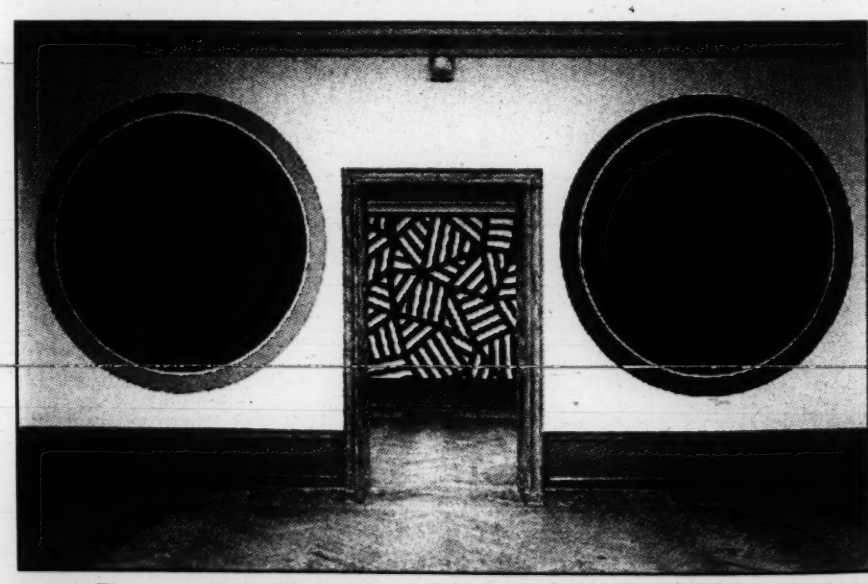
This impermanence lends bite to the conceptual claims of the work, and some poetry as well, in a gesture of nonmaterialism that suggests an experience of performance and "happening."

Oddly enough, any problems we might find with this artist's work are suggested by the exhibition itself.

The museum elected to hang its American masterpieces in the main upper gallery, at the heart of a confluence of adjoining spaces devoted entirely to LeWitt. Then it crowned this installation-within-an-installation with a LeWitt "drawing" in the vaulted ceiling enclosing the skylight overhead. The result is a highly unusual juxtaposition.

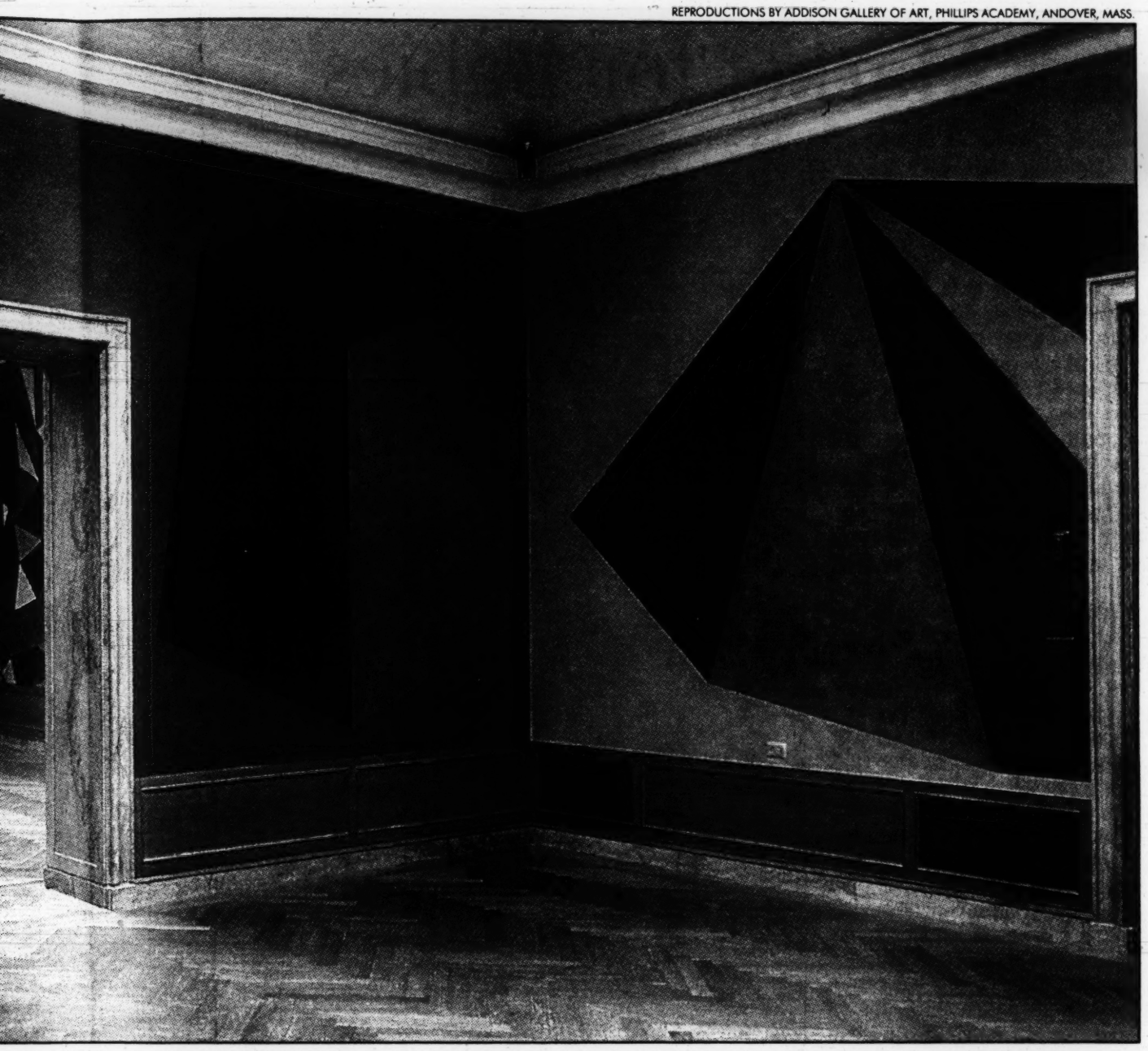
It seems unfair that we're invit-

WALL DRAWINGS NO. 516Y, 531A, AND 436A: *LeWitt's assistants applied color ink wash to*

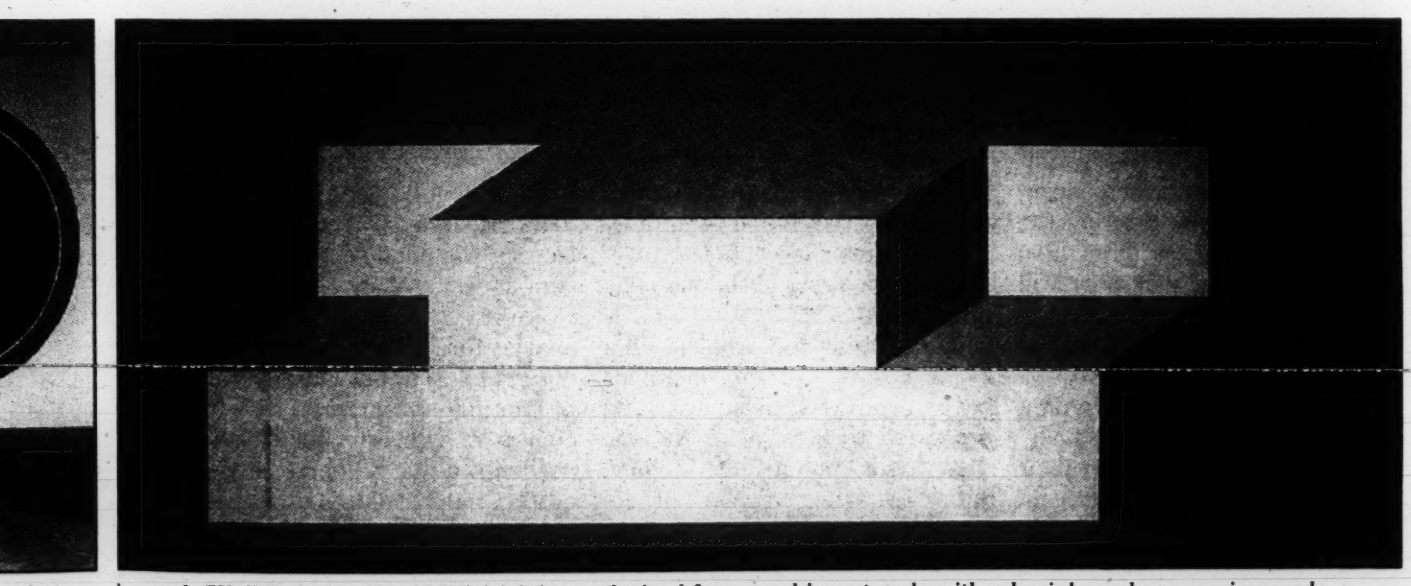


FORMS: *The two bulls-eyelike shapes (left) contrast with the abstraction in the room bey*

REPRODUCTIONS BY ADDISON GALLERY OF ART, PHILLIPS ACADEMY, ANDOVER, MASS.



or ink wash to the walls of the Addison Gallery in Andover, Mass., following his diagrams and measurements to illuminate shapes.



n the room beyond. 'Wall Drawing No. 606H' (right) was derived from a cubic rectangle with color ink washes superimposed.

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ed to look at Sol LeWitt in the light of Winslow Homer, Thomas Eakins, John Singer Sargent, and Edward Hopper, and vice versa.

These painters share a dusty art-historical stage beneath LeWitt's crisp modernist umbrella; they band together to represent a commitment to art, nature, and their craft. What these artists painted was rooted in the very act of seeing, and making a connection with what they saw.

Next to these masters LeWitt naturally seems out of reach, more the architect, the inventor of perceptual experience. He does not touch his work, and so his touch is not in it.

LeWitt has created an art cut off from the intuitive and emotional possibilities that arise in the making, just as it is uncompromised by associations or references to things outside itself.

INSTEAD it is an opportunity to freely engage in a dynamic aesthetic experience based on pure form – the interaction of line, color, and shape. It is no-baggage and travel-light art; the ultimate expression of modern art's prime directive: art for art's sake.

It would be pointless to pretend that the opposition created by the proximity of these two antithetical bodies of work were not at issue here. Even if it were not acknowledged, it would at least be implied. The juxtaposition impacts on both the old and newer work. In the end, this comparison makes this entire exhibit that much more fascinating.

What we get from all of this is a sense of history. How will conceptual art fare in the long view? Will it be a footnote, an aberration, or a watershed?

Will Sol LeWitt be seen as a father of '80s corporate-art careerism, or one of the principal architects of a true and brilliant vision?

After 25 years, the Addison Gallery of American Art is giving us a chance to take a another look.

'Blood Brothers' Sinks in Melodrama

By Frank Scheck
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

WILLY RUSSELL'S musical "Blood Brothers," for which he wrote the book, music, and lyrics, is a fairy tale, but it certainly doesn't have a happy ending.

This talented playwright, responsible for such plays as "Educating Rita" and "Shirley Valentine," has a knack for telling affecting tales of ordinary people who lift themselves out of their circumstances. That talent is denied to the eponymous figures here, who are inexorably confined to their fate, the victims of England's class system.

The Tony Award-nominated show tells the tale of Mickey and Eddie, twin brothers born to Mrs. Johnstone, a cleaning woman who lacks the financial means to care for them both. A solution is provided by Mrs. Lyons, her wealthy female employer, who is unable to bear children: She will take one of the babies and raise it as her own; her husband, away on a lengthy business trip, will be unaware of the baby's true identity. Mrs. Johnstone reluctantly agrees to this but finds herself unable to disconnect emotionally, to the point where Mrs. Lyons, desperate to keep her secret, lets her go.

The children are thus raised separately; Mickey in the lower class and Eddie in the upper. But, as the drama would have it, they meet at the age of 7, discover they were born on the same day, and become best friends, or "Blood Brothers." When Mrs. Lyons becomes aware of this, she insists that the family move to the country. But years later, the boys are reunited when Mrs. Johnstone's housing project is torn down and they, too, are relocated.

THEATER

BLOOD BROTHERS
Book, music, and lyrics by Willy Russell. Directed by Bill Kenwright and Bob Tomson. At the Music Box.

The boys reclaim their friendship as teenagers; their mutual friend is Linda, who is in love with Eddie. But as time goes on, they are led to take different paths. Eddie becomes a successful barrister, while Mickey, who has married Linda, is trapped in a dead-end job, resorts to crime, is sent to prison, and becomes a drug addict. Inevitably, their destinies lead to a tragic conclusion.

A strong air of fate and superstition hangs over the work, personified by the character of the Narrator, who stands about watching the action, making (and singing) solemn pronouncements, and occasionally playing various subsidiary characters (a fact not unnoticed by Mrs. Johnstone, who wonders why he keeps showing up in various guises). Much is made of the dire consequences of leaving "Shoe Upon the Table," which is also the title of one of the oft-reprised songs.

This show has been running for years in England, where presumably the theme of class consciousness has more resonance than in the United States. But I doubt it will have the same kind of success here. It plays like an overly melodramatic soap opera, and its fantastical elements, heavily underscored with portentous lighting, are less transporting than silly.

Russell's writing, so delicate and finely nuanced in "Shirley Valentine," pounds home every point; using Marilyn Monroe as a metaphor might be gotten away with in one song, but here the device is repeated over and over. The music is similarly heavy-handed and somber. The first-act closer, "Bright New Day," is the only song that brings any sense of joy to the proceedings.

Nonetheless, the show is so eccentric and intense that it is not without interest, and the cast, utilizing many of the London principals, shines. Con O'Neill repeats his Olivier Award-winning performance as Mickey, and the actor delivers a finely detailed performance; he is both hilarious as the younger, raucous version and deeply moving as the troubled older version. Stephanie Lawrence is also particularly powerful, rendering Mrs. Johnstone sympathetic even when she is at her most irritating.

But the obvious contrivances of "Blood Brothers," including a final violent confrontation that is almost farcical, defeats their efforts.

COMMUNITY

In Honduras, a Black Market for Babies

Honduran authorities assert that traffickers, including doctors, nurses, and lawyers, steal children for unwitting American couples

By Lisa Swenarski
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

TEGUCIGALPA, HONDURAS

"I ALWAYS said that if I had a child, I would never abandon him, even if I had to eat my nails to stay alive," says 17-year-old Juana Rodriguez, whose own mother abandoned her when she was in the first grade. "I wanted to be the mother to my son that my mother never was to me."

But Juana was able to be that mother for only two days. On the third day after her son Francisco was born, when she went to nurse him in the infant ward of the public hospital, his crib was empty.

Francisco is one of hundreds of Honduran children who have been stolen or obtained in other illegal ways in order to "sell" them for adoption to couples from the United States, according to a Honduran congresswoman, military authorities, and a 200-page study by the Honduran Women's Studies Center.

The demand for adoptable children by couples from industrialized nations has soared at the same time that poverty has intensified in Honduras. The demand has spawned a tragic business involving greedy professionals, wealthy foreign couples willing to pay up to $30,000 for a child, and poor mothers who reluctantly give up their children hoping that adoptive parents can give them a better material life, according to Nora Miselem Rivera, one of the three authors of the study, "Adoption: The Trafficking of Minors in Honduras."

US families have adopted an average of 8,000 foreign children a year for the past five years. Almost 450 Honduran children were taken out of the country by American couples during 1990-1991, according to the US Embassy here. All of these were apparently legal adoptions with all their papers in order. In the case of stolen children, however, documents are falsified and false witnesses are used, according to Ms. Rivera.

"We can only enforce US law and adhere to Honduran government standards," says US Embassy spokeswoman Elizabeth Adair when asked if the embassy investigates adoption cases. "If something looks falsified, we report it to the Honduran government immediately."

Many of the adopted children are orphans or abandoned, and in some cases they have serious health problems; their lives are literally saved when a foreign couple adopts them. It is difficult to estimate how many adopted children are stolen or given up by their mothers after false promises from a lawyer or an intermediary. Some 800 Honduran children disappear each year just from Tegucigalpa, the capital, for a number of reasons. Some are runaways. But more than 15 cases of stolen children are reported each month.

"When the first cases were presented, we thought that this was something that with a few staff we could resolve, but now we realize that this is something in big proportions," says Lt. Col. Manuel de Jesus Luna, the head of the national intelligence agency. "We are worried that those involved are perfecting the process to the point where it will be considered a legal business and children are sold as if they were common goods."

NEWSPAPER headlines here have blared reports of *bebetrafik* since 1985, when the first "fattening house" was reported. These *casas de engorde* are private homes where children are kept until adoptive parents are found. Congresswoman Rosario Godoy estimates that there are 22 such houses in the capital alone. Ms. Godoy has been pressuring the government for several years to crack down on baby-trafficking, but the process has been slow because of the powerful people involved in the business. These include lawyers, doctors, nurses, and government officials, according to Godoy and others.

'Children are being stolen, lawyers are processing adoptions, and children are leaving' Honduras.

– Nora Miselem Rivera

In March 1992, the National Congress suspended adoptions until the accusations of baby-trafficking could be investigated. But "children are still being stolen, lawyers are still processing adoptions, and Honduran children are leaving from the airport," Rivera says.

Godoy, who is in the minority in Congress because of her sex, political party, and issue-oriented outspokenness, has recently led raids on several fattening houses. The front pages of local newspapers have printed dramatic photographs of police officers holding infants and other children found in the houses.

The public, which sees baby-trafficking as one more offense by the upper class against the poor, has demanded the return of stolen children and has attacked people accused of trafficking children as the suspects were on their way to court. After Godoy received death threats for bringing the issue to public notice, she received a call from a man who said, "If anyone touches you, the children of lawyers involved in child-trafficking will start to disappear."

Children are illegally obtained in a number of ways. A kidnapper may snatch an infant from its mother's arms in public, sometimes as an accomplice distracts her. Several newborns have been stolen from public hospitals. In some cases, a young woman "rents her womb," selling the unborn child to a lawyer who promises delivery expenses.

In other cases, an intermediary persuades a poor mother to give up her children with promises of trips to the United States to visit them. Even without such promises, some mothers, desiring the best for their children, give them up with the hope that they will have a better life with foreign couples who have more financial resources.

With the publicity regarding baby trafficking, however, many mothers regret handing over their children and go in search of them. Rather than locating them in government-regulated orphanages, they find them neglected in poor or working-class fattening houses, or they never find them at all.

"I thought it was logical to give up my children for adoption because I am poor," says Bessy Dalis Donaire, 29, who gave up one child and almost gave up three others before she decided to recover the first. "I imagined them in good conditions, as I was promised. I couldn't give anything to my children, not even schooling, and I wanted something better for them."

If the reports of baby-trafficking are true, Honduras is in violation of the International Rights of the Child Convention. The treaty commits signatories to ensure that children are not separated from their parents involuntarily and requires that adoption proceedings be done in the interests of the child.

Recognizing the problem on a regional level, Central Americans have proposed a resolution to be presented to the United Nations that would, among other things, allow for the transfer of an adopted baby from one country to its country of origin if the adoption is proved illegal.

THE question for American couples is, what can they do to be sure that the children they are adopting were given up by the parents voluntarily?

Godoy says that American couples can judge the legitimacy of an adoption by the lawyer's fee. If the lawyer handling the adoption charges more than $2,000, the couple should beware, she says.

Rivera says that couples also can find out which lawyers are involved in baby-trafficking by consulting adoption agencies and the Human Rights Committee of Honduras.

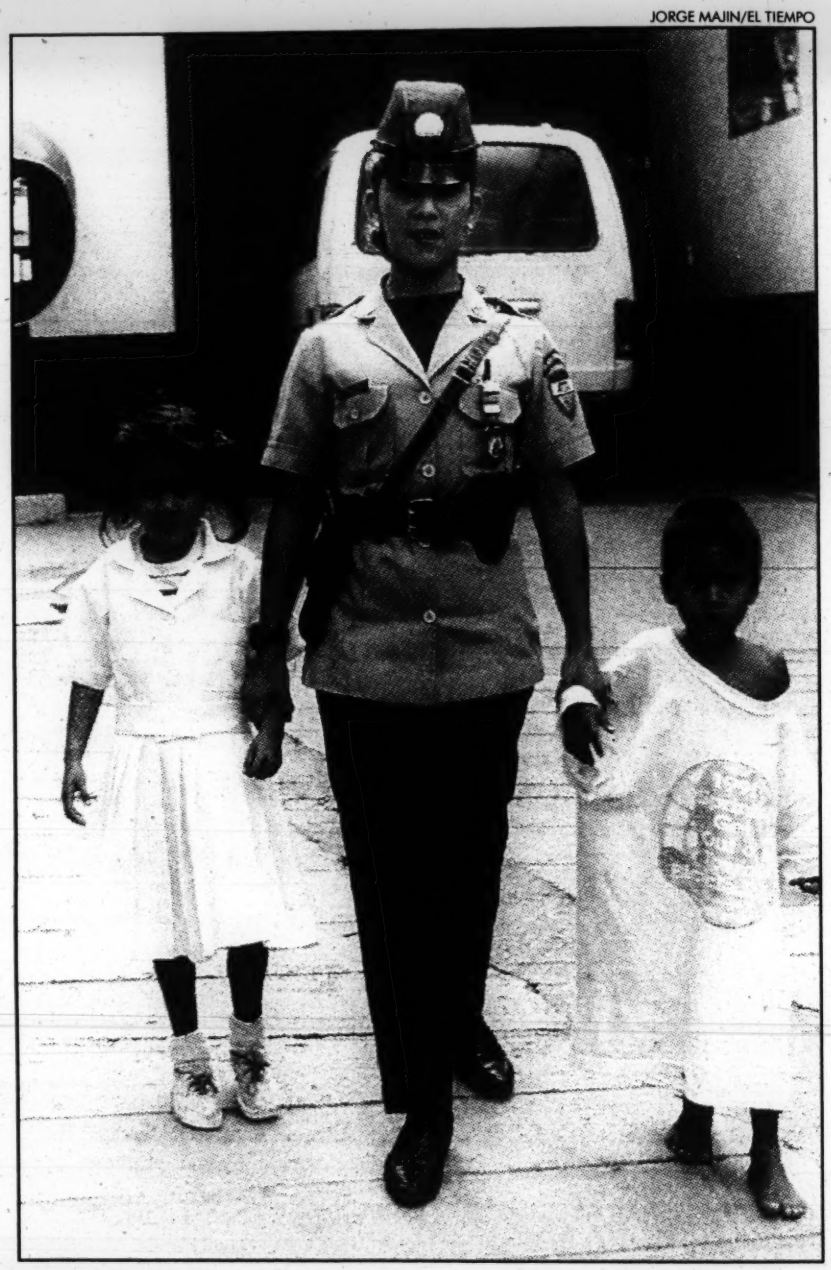
"An adoptive couple must be prepared that the child they adopt may be emotionally traumatized and that some day they may realize that the child was stolen," Rivera adds.

Rivera is not necessarily against foreigners adopting Honduran children, but she says: "By promoting adoptions by foreigners, the government is saving itself from its responsibility to protect those children and saving itself from resolving some very serious social problems in our country."

Juana Rodriguez's son was stolen May 9, 1992. Affectionately holding the child whom she babysits in exchange for room and board, she says, "Francisco was born a week earlier and weighed more, so he should be just a little bit bigger by now. Also, he was light-skinned and had lots of straight black hair."

"When I found out that Francisco was gone, my head started pounding, my knees went weak, and I laughed and cried from nervousness," she recalls. "Then when I went to complain to the director of the hospital, he tried to calm me down by saying, 'Don't worry, you're young. You can have another.' "

JORGE MAJIN/EL TIEMPO



RESCUED: *In this photo, from a Honduran newspaper, a policewoman holds allegedly kidnapped children found in a raid on a 'fattening house.'*

BOOKS

Motherhood as a Political Status

By Laura Van Tuyl

WOMEN do a lot of complaining. I've heard it in the back hallways and restrooms at the office. I hear it while sipping tea at my mother's discussion group and from female experts on the MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour.

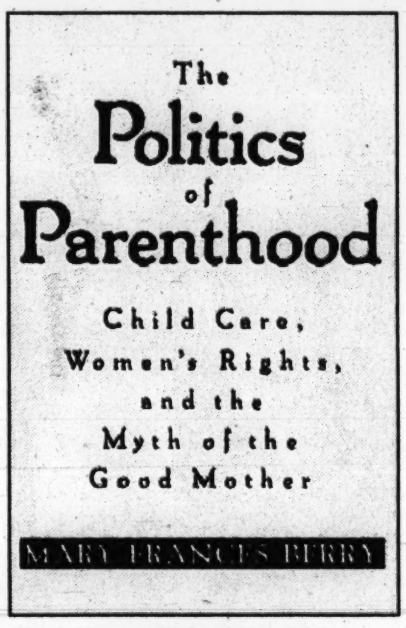
The cacophony of complaints has to do with frustration over poor pay and few promotions, worry about the lengthy waiting list at the local day-care center, and plain old working-mother "max-out."

Historian and social critic Mary Frances Berry says it's time to stop grumbling and face up to what is *really* at the root of discrimination at work, insufficient child care, and 18-hour days: the assumption that women must be in charge of the physical and emotional care of children, and that men, busy in their careers, have little or no role.

In her book "The Politics of Parenthood: Child Care, Women's Rights, and the Myth of the Good Mother," Berry posits that only by a sweeping reevaluation of gender roles will women be able to achieve the political and social equality they desire. As long as "mother care" is the only care deemed suitable for children, women will never achieve true liberation, she says.

Initially, one feels uneasy over the author's call to change public thought so dramatically. Yes, we've seen the occasional Living Page profile of Vincent B. Lawyer who deserts his depositions for full-time diapering. But to have all men adopt daily fathering or share the burdens of homemaking? Unthinkable!

The challenge becomes less daunting, however, upon reading Berry's fascinating accounts of Colonial-era fathers, who were intimately involved in the rearing of their children. In early America, men were chiefly responsible for the feeding, clothing, and education of their children after the nursing period, and nonrelatives such as slaves and servants also figured in a child's upbringing. Women were thought to be intellectually dull and "too corrupt by nature" to guide children in the straight and narrow path.



THE POLITICS OF PARENTHOOD: CHILD CARE, WOMEN'S RIGHTS, AND THE MYTH OF THE GOOD MOTHER
By Mary Frances Berry
Viking, 287 pp., $22.50

It was only in the 19th century, when the forces of industrialization sent fathers away from the home to work, that mothers began to take on around-the-clock care of the children, Berry writes. This, combined with more favorable opinions about the moral and emotional constancy of women, generated the idea that mothers were the true purveyors of virtue, the molders of character, the guardians of the race. Thus the notion of "separate spheres" – woman in the home and man as the breadwinner – was born, and it became fully implanted in the culture by the time of the Civil War.

Berry presents a dispassionate history of the women's movement, day care, and home life, showing the persistent obstacles to economic and political power that have confronted women as a result of society's definition of them as "mothers." Her heavily footnoted chronology attributes the failure of the Equal Rights Amendment, the languishing of the women's movement in the '80s, and years of bickering over federal parental-leave and child-care bills to an unwillingness to rethink gender roles.

Despite its convincing analysis of the problem, "The Politics of Parenthood" leaves one hungering for ideas on just how a transformation of women's and men's roles could take place. Berry mentions only a few solutions, such as teaching parenting and child care to both boys and girls in school.

Clearly, the culture of the workplace needs to change to encourage the sharing of family duties. Already there are signs, Berry notes, that some men are longing to spend more time with their families even at the expense of their careers.

Ultimately, Berry makes her plea to women. She challenges them to take new views of themselves, their relationships, and their potential. Without these mental changes, political and economic progress for women will remain elusive, and no amount of complaining will get them anywhere.

■ *Laura Van Tuyl is a mother and freelance writer who works out of her home.*

British Prime Minister Meets With Rushdie

LONDON

PRIME Minister John Major met with Salman Rushdie on Tuesday in Britain's strongest show of support for the author since the late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini condemned him to death in 1989.

The two met for about 30 minutes in Mr. Major's office at the House of Commons. Iran had warned that it and other Muslim countries would curtail trade with Britain if the meeting occurred.

"This is the most important day of the campaign against the *fatwa* so far," Rushdie told reporters, referring to the religious edict that has forced him to live in hiding guarded by police.

Rushdie said the meeting "will send a message around the world, both to our allies and to the government of Iran."

A spokeswoman in Major's office said Major had affirmed his government's full support for Rushdie's rights as a citizen and expressed regret that Iran had not repudiated the edict.

Khomeini's decree condemned Rushdie to death for blaspheming Islam in his novel "The Satanic Verses." An Iranian charity has offered nearly $2 million in rewards for his death.

Britain relied on quiet diplomacy over the Rushdie affair while Westerners were held hostage by Muslim fundamentalists in Lebanon. Once they were released in 1992, the government pursued a more active policy.

"Now that the British government has decided to get noisy, I confidently expect their allies to follow," Rushdie said.

But despite his optimism, he did not speculate on when Iran might drop the death sentence. He left with armed guards to return to a secret address.

– **Associated Press**

Walking Respectfully In Others' Moccasins

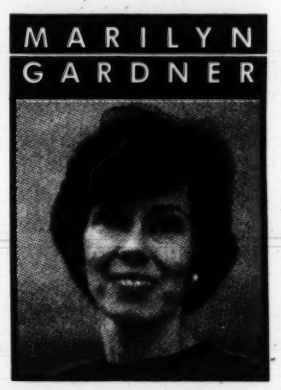
FROM time to time last year Barbara Sabol, the head of New York City's Human Resources Administration, underwent a striking metamorphosis. Instead of donning her usual business suit, jewelry, and heels, she put on jeans, a sweat shirt, and a wig or scarf. Then she headed for the city's welfare centers, where she posed as a single, unemployed welfare applicant.

As she journeyed from office to office, Ms. Sabol was subjected to a long list of indignities, ranging from being sent to wrong departments and standing in endless lines to sitting in cockroach-infested waiting rooms and enduring scolding, condescending remarks. She recalls feeling invisible – "depersonalized."

Shocked by her new awareness of the treatment welfare recipients sometimes receive, Sabol returned to her own desk determined to make the welfare system better.

Is there anyone who hasn't longed, at some moment or other, to trade places temporarily with another person or to be the proverbial fly on the wall, watching and listening as others work or play? For most people, this silent-observer status is impossible. But for those like Sabol who can arrange to walk in another's moccasins, as the Indians put it, the experience can be both illuminating and sobering. In the best circumstances, it can also give a wider audience a heightened awareness of the dignity inherent in each individual and every job.

One of the most famous role-reversers was John Howard Griffin, a white man who in 1959 underwent a series of medical treatments to darken his skin temporarily. He spent six weeks traveling through the South as a black man, then turned his experience and his encounters with prejudice into a best-selling book, "Black Like Me."



More recently Jack Coleman, the former president of Haverford College in Pennsylvania, made a minor second career of learning other jobs. During one five-month sabbatical in the 1970s he worked variously as a ditch digger in Atlanta, a garbage collector in suburban Washington, D.C., and a dishwasher in Boston. He spent vacations laboring in a marble quarry in Wyoming, on a drilling rig in the uranium fields of New Mexico, and on a hog farm in New Jersey. Later, as president of a foundation in New York, he served as an "inmate" in five maximum-security prisons and as a guard in two others.

But of all his experiences, the one that affected him most profoundly was the week and a half he spent living as a homeless man on the streets of New York during a frigid winter.

"Without any question, those were the 10 most important days of my life," says Mr. Coleman, who now runs the Inn at Long Last in Chester, Vt. "Anything I learned other places seems to pale next to what I learned there." He attributes his abiding interest in people to his mother, who "had respect for every human being in our town."

In lesser hands, role reversals and masquerades like these run the risk of becoming little more than trivial sociological games. Motives – and respect – are everything.

Still, what would happen to the national empathy level if more people glimpsed firsthand the daily routines and experiences of others? How would perceptions change, for instance, if CEOs worked briefly on assembly lines? If fathers of small children temporarily took over the day-in, day-out duties of mothers? If exurbanites spent time in the inner city? One of the most fitting role-swaps ever devised may be the one ordered a few years ago by a creative East Coast judge, who sentenced a slumlord to live for a period in his own filthy tenement house.

Eventually, of course, the masks come off, the experiments end, and role-reversers return to their own lives, their own careers, their own identities. Yet increasingly, assuming a different role may no longer be a matter of temporary or voluntary play-acting. As the workplace changes through downsizing, fewer people will be able to retain one fixed professional identity throughout a working lifetime.

At work and at home, the old fixed and restrictive stereotypes are being forced into obsolescence by the logic of changing times – an event mourned by some traditionalists. But if all this leads to a more flexible, more generous, and finally surer sense of identity, who in the long run can complain?

FOOD

A Salmon Banquet off the Seattle Coast

A quick jaunt to Blake Island transports tourists from bustling city to native American cookout and dance show

By Mark Trumbull
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SEATTLE

IN the Pacific Northwest salmon is the king of foods.

The tasty fish is enjoyed around the world, but perhaps nowhere does it play so central a culinary role as in this region, where native Americans continue to harvest it alongside commercial fishermen. Salmon is often the main course at cookouts here.

Of the local varieties of salmon, the favorite of many people is fittingly known as "king," notes Bill Hewitt, proprietor of a tour company that provides visitors a traditional Northwest Salmon banquet on an island near Seattle.

Salmon is delicious whether poached, broiled, baked, or smoked, and the open-fire cooking at Mr. Hewitt's Tillicum Village is no exception.

The salmon, held aloft in a framework of cedar stakes, is baked next to an alder-wood fire. The method was developed by the Indians of the coast, for whom the abundant local seafoods have long provided a rich diet.

Now some local species of salmon are endangered, and Hewitt says most of the salmon he serves is farmed, rather than caught at sea – which he says ensures high-quality fish year round.

The alder-wood baking is notable not only for its low-tech novelty, but also for the resulting product: The flavorful fish is fully cooked but retains a moist and tender delicacy. The salmon is not smoked, but its taste has a pleasant hint of the fire. The fire sears the pink meat, sealing in the juices.

Hewitt, formerly a caterer, founded Tillicum Village 30 years ago to offer traditional food and native American dance performances to tourists and locals alike. The busy season is the summer, with three tours a day offered to individuals or groups. There are also occasional opportunities in the winter.

On one clear day, Hewitt's chartered boat sets out with a group from the local electric utility on a scenic 45-minute ride from downtown Seattle to Blake Island. Here, in permanent fire pits under the roof of a wooden longhouse, the salmon is already baking.

THE island itself is a park owned by Washington State. "We have the only major building on the island," notes Hewitt, describing this as something of a miracle. Tillicum Village was allowed to build its longhouse shortly after the state took over the island. The business sold the building to the government and now leases it back.

"It was started on a shoestring budget and stayed that way for 15 years," says Hewitt, whose son now manages the operation.

On arrival visitors are served a cup of hot clams in broth, a savory treat. Indoors, visitors see the salmon finish cooking before helping themselves to it.

Although Hewitt himself is not Indian, many of the workers and all of the dancers are. The cost of the four-hour Tillicum Village experience is about $39 per adult, with significant discounts for children and groups.

PHOTOS BY MARK TRUMBULL

SALMON, INDIAN-STYLE: *Strapped to cedar sticks, the fish is baked next to an alder-wood fire.*

BILL HEWITT: *The former caterer stands at the entrance of Tillicum Village, which he founded on Blake Island 30 years ago. He offers tours and outdoor grilled fare.*

SALMON SOUFFLÉ WITH CUCUMBER DILL SAUCE

The fragrance of fresh salmon can be caught in a savory soufflé. Here is a recipe that includes other pungent spring flavors – scallions, dill, and cucumber – all of which are traditional accompaniments. A soufflé makes a wonderful presentation for guests when it is rushed from the oven to the table for serving. Our family has a special board made by our daughter when she was in grade school for resting the soufflé upon the table.

2 tablespoons unsalted butter, room temperature
3 tablespoons dry or toasted bread crumbs
3/4 lb. fresh salmon fillet
1 cup water
2 scallions, green part only, finely minced
3 tablespoons unsalted butter
3 tablespoons flour
1 cup milk
2 scallions, white part only, finely chopped
5 egg yolks
7 egg whites
salt, pepper, and freshly grated nutmeg
2 tablespoons freshly grated parmesan cheese

Heat oven to 375 degrees F. Place a cookie sheet on the shelf in the lower third of the oven. Butter and coat with breadcrumbs the bottom and sides of a six-cup soufflé bowl, and set aside.

Heat 1 cup water to boiling in a medium-sized sauté pan. Reduce heat, and place 1/2-pound section of the filet in the water, skin side down. Reserve other 1/4 pound of the salmon. Cover pan, gently poach salmon for 6 minutes, basting after 3 minutes. Place fillet on rack to cool.

Dice remaining 1/4 pound salmon and season with salt and pepper, add scallion greens, set aside.

Heat 3 tablespoons butter in medium-sized saucepan over medium heat. Add chopped white scallion sections and cook, stirring, 2 minutes. Stir in flour and cook, stirring constantly, 2 minutes. Add 1/2 of the milk, off the heat. Slowly add remaining milk and cook until mixture is thickened and just boiling. Remove from heat, stir in egg yolks, season with salt, pepper, and nutmeg. Add Parmesan cheese.

Remove skin from cooled salmon and flake into pieces. Stir into egg mixture. Beat whites until stiff but not dry. Fold 1/3 of the egg whites into the salmon mixture. Fold in remaining whites. Spoon 1/2 of the mixture into the prepared dish. Sprinkle with the uncooked salmon and scallion mixture.

Spoon remaining soufflé mixture over this and smooth the top. Place in oven and bake 30 minutes. Serves 4.

SAUCE
1 to 1-1/2 cups heavy cream
1 tablespoon butter
1 English cucumber, peeled, cut in half lengthwise, and sliced thinly (or 1-1/2 cups of other cucumber type, peeled, seeded, and thinly sliced)
2 tablespoons fresh dill, finely chopped
salt and pepper

Heat cream to boiling, reduce heat, and simmer gently until thickened and reduced by 1/3. Heat butter in a small skillet, add cucumber slices, season with salt and pepper. Sauté gently until translucent. Add reduced cream and dill. Serve with salmon soufflé.

– Jacqueline P. Cattani

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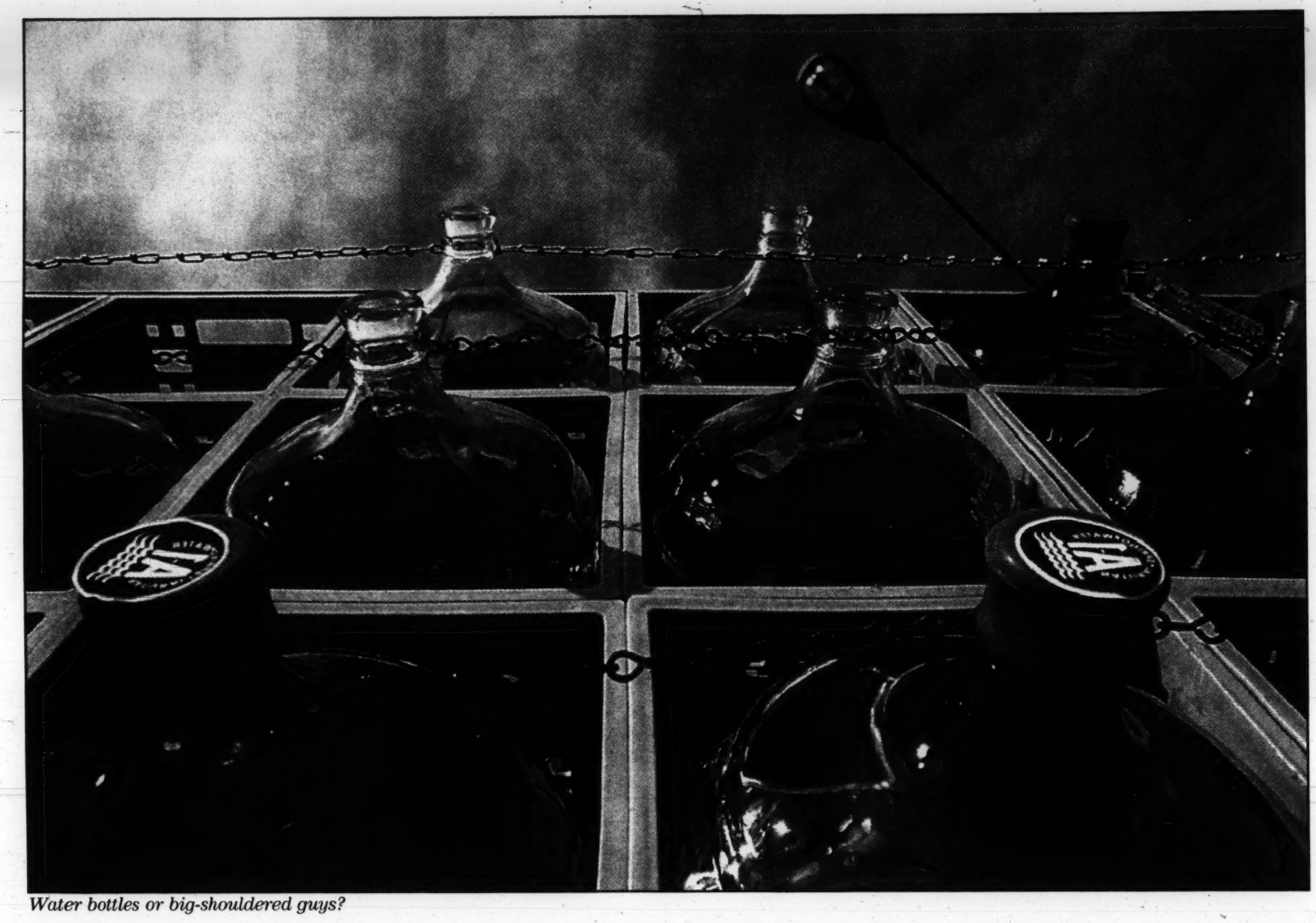
Photo by staff photographer Neal J. Menschel



Water bottles or big-shouldered guys?

A New View of Blue

LENS AND LIGHT

IN objective reality, photographs are probably not as valuable as screwdrivers. After all, familiar objects like screwdrivers, manhole covers, and belt loops keep the flow of daily life somewhat in valued order. Pants stay up. Things stay together. Streets don't have holes. Things get done.

But any experienced photographer knows this is a façade. Subjective reality, like laughter, is individual, a rebel presence in the screwdriver world.

When photographer Neal Menschel bent down next to a truck with empty water bottles, what struck him was not the familiar. Another set of values came together in the viewfinder of his camera. The utility of truck, bottles, containers, chains, and street light dropped away.

What did he see? I don't know. What I first saw here – through him – was a blue-cool arctic gathering of eyeless brutes, big-shouldered guys held back by chains and guarded by a one-eyed arthropod. This is fleeting imagery rooted in some bedrock fissure of my consciousness; but there it was, coming to me.

I would like to see this photo for the first time again. And then again. It pulled me quickly into the rebel world where symmetry, transparency, and an enigmatic blueness were a delight. The odd angle was not odd; all the parts, including the angle, fit tightly in my mind's eye. I wanted to be in this photo, standing somewhere in there as a witness to what was going to happen next.

I am convinced there should be a noise emanating from this blue scene, a kind of low, tense hum, a little like the sound of a field of crickets just as the sun goes down. And for some reason I hear wind too.

These big-shouldered guys are getting ready to do something. Be prepared. The screwdriver world probably won't like it.

David Holmstrom

'Lens and Light' is a series showcasing the work of Monitor staff photographers.

Leaving the Familiar

AS much as I love knowing everyone on the twisting valley road that borders our home on the Pacific, I've also come to yearn for the times when we've lived in places where we've known no one.

My children and I are an unlikely crew to travel, to leave the familiar for the unknown. My son, Dylan, likes his lamp, the brown one with the long arm, tilted at just the right angle to chase the shadows out of a dark room. It has occupied the same position on his night stand for 10 years.

My daughter, Hallie, has developed a litany of rituals to perform before bed, so many that she had to write a list in order to remember them all.

The same woman has cut my hair for 20 years now. I've visited the local gas station for as long, seeing it change hands from father to son. We are the family that personifies the cliché "creatures of habit."

The same woman has cut my hair for 20 years now. We are the family that personifies the cliché 'creatures of habit.'

Life has allowed us great stretches of orderly time – time when we garden, work, and build a family, time to build ties with our community. It has also presented us with shifts that we'd neither foreseen nor planned, shifts that have pushed us from our nest into new places for lengths of time ranging from weeks to months.

Occasionally, we've become wanderers even in our own home, clinging to less, loving more tenderly, buying time together instead of things we might hold in our hands.

On our travels, we've resisted hotels and motels, instead camping along the way and resting in some small community. My children are familiar with maps. My daughter has been our official "navigator" in the car since she was 4, and she's already advanced in her ability to tell north from south.

IN a new place, we redefine ourselves and our family. I find days pass with no ringing phones. Even letters trickle down to a few die-hard missives from friends who put words on paper as easily as they might speak with you on the phone.

It takes a while on foreign soil for our habits to become visible. Soon we are on friendly terms with the owners of the local coffee shop where we get muffins in the morning. Then of course, given the age of our vehicles, we usually meet the local mechanic. We spend hours in the city parks, so we generally meet mothers and fathers with small children. Once in Quebec, we met a grandfather who spoke only French, but who transcended language barriers with strong arms that could push a swing higher than any adult in the park.

We begin to weave strands of connection that bind us to other people, other places than those with which we are most familiar. In a new place, we set to learning the names of the trees and which birds call to us in the morning. The sense of responsibility that is community follows us like a tail on a kite. It is hard to treat another area poorly when it feels like home.

There was a time when I thought that if I had to leave this place where I live, I would die, pure and simple. Without the long stretch of sand and the crashing Pacific at my side, how could I judge my relative smallness in the world? Without the slightly salty air, how would I be able to clear my head? If I couldn't see the huge Douglas fir and watch the heron, how could I have faith a natural world existed?

The more we travel, though, the more we redefine the term "homesick." If we're in the West, we can conjure up the East just by talking about our favorite ice-cream store or the sweet-singing cardinals or the fireflies. If we're in the East, an image of the mountains of the Northwest can make us want to hop the next train. The sweet yearnings for friends and places remind us of the depth and breadth of community.

Our family will be living in a small town in Central America next year. My son Dylan says he's excited about going to a "foreign" place.

"You'll be the foreigner," I tell him.

We talk about how at first, it will be as though we're a guest in someone's home. Then it will gradually turn into a familiar place with memories we'll take with us long past the time we leave.

While my roots are firmly embedded in the soil of this valley I call home, the things that once held me here – the smell of the sea, the feel of rough bark, and the fog – come with me as surely as what I carry in my hands. And the strength of home, memories, and thoughts of relatives and friends will remind us that the best place for a root to sink is not in the soil, but in the heart.

Melissa Madenski

News to Me

Yesterday, on San Bruno Mountain,
I saw a million flowers –
waves of violet ceanothus,
yellow pepperings of buttercups,
Wight's paintbrush, monkey flower,
Johnny jump-up, and, pale and rare,
a scattering of wallflowers.
Miner's lettuce still put forth
its tiny petals, while the manroot
had already formed spiny cucumbers.
Douglas's iris purpled some slopes,
and the checker-bloom splashed on pink.
So much else – even the alien eucalyptus –
spread profuse hues on the cool mountain
high over the peninsula's urban roofs.
Newly seen, it flooded the eyes with color
and delicate form. Silverspots
  flitted near us,
and (though we weren't sure)
  mission blues.
It was all news to me.
Last night on TV they never mentioned it,
talked instead of baseball trades,
lines of traffic, and domestic arguments.
Far below we saw a gathering of
  earth movers
standing ready to carve at the mountain
on Monday.

Paul O. Williams

Not Just Big Things

THE thought that I could pray for a solution to the problem I was having startled me. Compared to really serious life-or-death emergencies it seemed so trivial, even a little ridiculous. I think I must have had a misplaced feeling that you weren't really supposed to turn to God with mere annoyances.

The problem I faced was simply how to get rid of a twenty-five-year-old car my husband had once used to commute to work. We rarely used it, and neighbors had complained about seeing it parked at the curb.

"It really has to go," I felt. So I did pray about what to do, even though I felt self-conscious about turning to God with such an unimportant problem. I asked God simply to help me know how to work out the situation, although I think I was really hoping that my husband would finally agree to advertise the car for sale!

In *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer of Christian Science, tells us: "Divine Love always has met and always will meet every human need." She adds that this same divine Love, God, is always supplying all good to all mankind. I know this is true because I've seen it proved in my own experience innumerable times and Christ Jesus said that "with God all things are possible."

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

Well, I didn't instantly see how to solve the problem concerning the old car, but what did come to mind was a verse from the book of Isaiah in the Bible. It reads: "Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain." The simple, powerful words struck me at this particular time as exquisitely gentle, personal and tender. They were the touch of the Christ, quieting my anxiety about the situation.

The words reminded me also of a page in the Preface to *Science and Health*, where Mrs. Eddy explains: "The physical healing of Christian Science results now, as in Jesus' time, from the operation of divine Principle, before which sin and disease lose their reality in human consciousness and disappear as naturally and as necessarily as darkness gives place to light and sin to reformation."

The unsightly old car was still out in front of our house, but I was comforted and rested by those moments of praying. I stopped thinking of ways to convince my husband to sell the car—or have it hauled away, and this was a relief, I'm sure, to him as well as me! Whenever I began to feel annoyed or discouraged about the car, I thought about how divine intelligence is always present to help us solve the big, intimidating problems and to make the rough places in human life plain and level.

Less than a week later, a young man came to our door and asked hesitantly and hopefully if I thought whoever owned "that nice old car out front" might be interested in selling it. He needed to drive daily to his job twenty-five miles away, and he especially longed for a car he himself could easily repair. "My dad taught me how to drive in a car like that one," he said. He even added, "I love the weathered look of the paint."

The young man and my husband became instant friends. An offer was made and accepted. There wasn't a rough place in the whole transaction.

The incident made me more sharply aware that one can and should turn to God, to omnipresent Love always—for healing of both the seemingly gigantic, "life-threatening" problems and the small ones, too. Everyday experiences can be made smooth with divine Love. The rough places can be made plain, and the danger of stumbling can be lessened.

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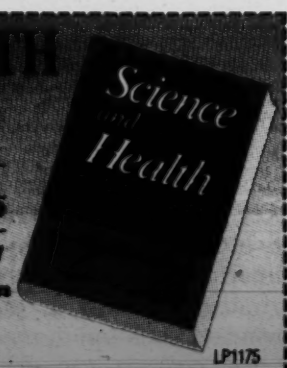
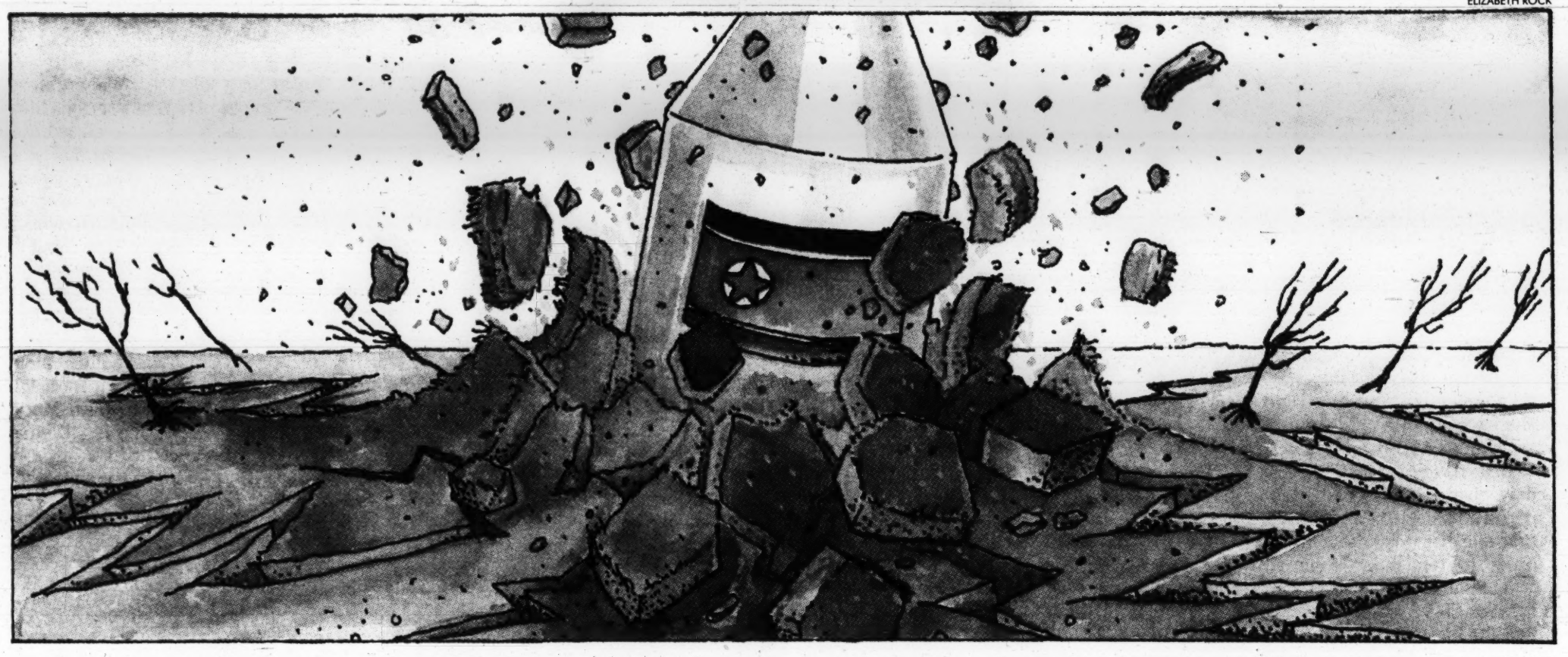


OPINION/ESSAYS

ELIZABETH ROCK



Pyongyang Has Nuclear Card, Real or Not

By Edward A. Olsen

THE prospect that North Korea may become a nuclear power, albeit a small one, has caused great concern in Seoul, Washington, and Tokyo. Beijing and Moscow also are unsettled by it. Although the intensity of the controversy has declined in recent weeks, the basic problem still remains unresolved: What can be done to defuse the dilemma posed by one state threatening to loose a nuclear arms race in Northeast Asia?

It is important to understand the background of North Korea's pursuit of a nuclear option. As long as the inter-Korean strategic situation was in rough, cold-war equilibrium, Pyongyang enjoyed the luxury of being an international "bad boy" ultimately protected by the support network of the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China.

The end of the cold war, dissolution of the Soviet Union, and economic reforms in Russia and China effectively knocked the international props out from under North Korea, compounding its domestic economic and political problems.

It was no longer just a renegade Stalinist state, it was an anachronistic one whose ideological base had been discredited at the fount of Marxism-Leninism. And its arch-rival was riding high. South Korea's economic success, international respectability, and strategic viability as part of the winning coalition in the cold war were peaking precisely as Pyongyang was plumbing its nadir. In that context, exploring the nuclear option makes considerable sense.

It remains unclear just how viable that option may be. Whether the regime of President Kim Il Sung actually can produce usable nuclear weapons in sufficient numbers to be credible is a question that has preoccupied many people lately. But it may be an irrelevant question.

If one assumes that United States deterrent capabilities almost certainly make any North Korean nuclear weapons that could be targeted on South Korea or Japan functionally unusable, their quality and/or quantity matter much less than their potential or actual existence. For North Korea, having a nuclear option in some stage of development is primarily a means to an end: reestablishing a level of deterrence and stability that was seriously undermined by the end of the global cold war. By playing hard ball on the nuclear issue, North Korea already has regained a large measure of the sort of perverse "respect" it requires from South Korea and its supporters for survival.

Were North Korea otherwise strong and stable, this new form of a power balance might be satisfactory for all concerned. Despite the anxiety expressed by other players in the game, especially American opponents of nuclear proliferation, they almost certainly could learn to live with a new post-cold-war equilibrium around the Korean peninsula. Once proliferation had occurred, it could readily become the source of a new form of stability.

Of course, all else is not well with North Korea. Economically it is hard pressed, weakened by the transformation of its former support network, and being pushed by heavy defense burdens toward the same precipice that the Soviet Union toppled over. A bankrupting defense budget is likely a key reason that a nuclear option appeals to Pyongyang; it is cheaper to sustain.

Politically, North Korea faces great uncertainty. No one can be sure how the dynastic succession now under way in Pyongyang from the elder Kim to his 50-year-old son, Kim Jong Il, will turn out. Aggravating the situation, the Asia-Pacific region's dynamism militarily is leaving North Korea in its dust. Pyongyang shows signs that it recognizes it must somehow adapt to the intra-Asian trend or risk the acceleration of its collapse. These factors do not auger well for the emergence of a post-cold-war equilibrium based in part on a cornered, nuclear-armed North Korea.

As serious as those weapons may seem, it is the instability of the Pyongyang regime that is the greater threat. Consequently, it is time for the US to modify its policy toward Korea as a whole.

It is important that the US come to terms with North Korea's nuclear option in a different manner. Whether Pyongyang is engaged in a nuclear program or the US and South Korea merely think it is doesn't matter. Preparing to deal with the present or future reality of a North Korean nuclear bomb through a system of deterrence that probably will be shaken by both internal North Korean and intra-Asian developments is as disturbing a notion as the idea of a North Korean nuclear bomb, per se.

Neither Americans, South Koreans, Japanese, Chinese, nor Russians can afford to be comfortable with the prospect of an economically and politically unstable North Korean state that may, or does, have nuclear weapons. As serious as those weapons may seem, it is the instability of the Pyongyang regime that is the greater threat. Consequently, it is time for the US to modify its policy toward Korea as a whole.

US policy now stresses its ties with South Korea and steadfastness versus North Korea. Pyongyang's nuclear option has strengthened US resolve in that support. While admirable, it misses a crucial point: Both the US and South Korea need to do everything they can to induce positive change in North Korea, and they are permitting their alliance to get in the way of the larger purpose – fostering peace on the peninsula that will bring the Korean nation together again.

At the risk of appearing to play into North Korea's hands, the US should become far more active than it has been in creating a US-North Korean dialogue openly aimed at eventual diplomatic recognition and economic interaction in exchange for step-by-step North Korean positive responses to US nuclear concerns.

These are the ends North Korea clearly desires as steps toward disrupting US-South Korea ties. As long as both Seoul and Washington are confident that their bilateral relations are sound there is no genuine risk in pursuing the suggested course. And Washington should be far more assertive than it has been, or than Seoul has wanted it to be, with regard to initiatives aimed at facilitating Korean unification.

In the past, Seoul frequently objected to even the idea of Washington exploring options toward North Korea that South Korea had not already sanctioned. Today, however, Seoul generally encourages Washington to be more creative. The time is right for American boldness. The US helped to create Korea's current problems by its incremental exacerbation of a poor decision (i.e., Korea's original division) that worsened the cold war. Today the US should accept its moral obligation to help end Korea's cold war by striving enthusiastically to reunify Korea.

Were the US to move simultaneously toward a quid-pro-quo-based negotiation of diplomatic relations with North Korea and a more innovative approach to Korean unification, it would be well positioned to resolve the Korean nuclear dilemma and to terminate the Korean cold war by removing the underlying cause.

■ *Edward A. Olsen is professor of Asian studies at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. The views expressed are his own.*

The 30th anniversary of the Limited Test Ban Treaty would serve as a poignant moment to announce efforts to negotiate a ban that is complete and permanent

Toward a Comprehensive Nuclear-Test Ban

By Robert K. Musil

IT is now nearly 30 years since President John F. Kennedy's most lasting achievement: the signing of the world's first nuclear arms control treaty, the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963. The treaty followed a remarkable speech by Kennedy on June 10, 1963, at American University in Washington that dramatically altered relations between the world's two great nuclear powers. With the upcoming anniversary as a goal, President Clinton faces a historic opportunity to lead the way to a worldwide end to nuclear weapons testing and a substantial reduction of the nuclear threat.

He should use one of the upcoming 30th-anniversary dates to announce new, drastic reductions in nuclear weapons and progress toward a Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB).

Since the president was required by the Nuclear Testing Moratorium Act of 1992 – which halted US nuclear testing until July 1, 1993 – to report to the Congress whether and why he will pursue more nuclear tests and how he plans to achieve a CTB, the time for decisions that will make history is at hand. He has an excellent opportunity to be linked with his political idol by more than the youthful photograph of their hand shake so visible during the 1992 campaign.

Chastened by his brush with nuclear annihilation during the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962, Kennedy went to the podium at American University with a call for an end to the cold war, an end to the nuclear arms race, and greater United States-Soviet cooperation. To underscore his rhetoric, he made two brief announcements: High-level talks for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty would begin shortly in Moscow; and US atmospheric nuclear testing would stop so long as other nations also stopped. Kennedy's words and deeds had a dramatic effect in Moscow. They led within only 55 days to the Aug. 5, 1963, signing of the Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT). The LTBT was then ratified on Oct. 7 and took effect on Oct. 10.

Mr. Clinton entered office preoccupied with other matters, including economic and foreign policy problems from Bosnia to Haiti that, like Berlin and Cuba, are not of his making. Meanwhile, nuclear disarmament, a CTB, relations with Russia, all demand bold action. None of these matters have, as yet, received the concerted presidential attention they deserve, despite repeated entreaties from activists and intellectuals to do so.

AT the recent Vancouver Summit, Clinton passed up the opportunity to announce the start of negotiations for a CTB. Nuclear weapons, moreover, received scant attention except for the promise of some $215 million to help the Russians store and dismantle weapons scheduled to be reduced under the START II Treaty.

In fact, the Clinton administration seems to be following an overly cautious approach to national security and nuclear issues in general, similar to that of the Bush administration and laid out last year by the 102nd Congress. The Clinton agenda so far appears to be modest defense cuts, despite the end of the cold war; minimal aid to Russia and other former Soviet republics; slow, steady, but finite reductions in nuclear weapons to the level of 3,500 US warheads in the year 2003 mandated by START II; continued work on the strategic defense initiative; production of nuclear submarines like the Seawolf and missiles like the Trident D-5; and, when the required report to Congress is completed, a likely series of so-called safety tests of nuclear weapons.

Clinton's course seems to calculate that the future of the planet should be determined by positions designed to secure a majority of votes in Congress. The perils of nuclear proliferation and possible political turmoil in Russia, however, call for vision and decisiveness. Each nuclear weapon not destroyed, each nuclear test conducted for whatever reason, and every failure to support reform in Russia, will spell peril in the future for the US and the world.

The 30th anniversaries of Kennedy's American University speech, and the signing, ratification, and implementation of the Limited Test Ban Treaty all await Clinton this year. Arms control groups here and abroad will be working, watching, and waiting. By June 10, Clinton should once again shake hands with destiny. As Kennedy understood, the world at times needs not just progress, but dramatic new hope.

■ *Robert K. Musil is the director of policy and programs for Physicians for Social Responsibility, the US affiliate of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), recipient of the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize.*

The Bosnia Dilemma – What to Do?

Weep, ponder, seek understanding, hold a Geneva conference

I NEVER thought the transition to a post-cold-war era would be like pushing open a well-oiled gate into a sunny meadow. But I never imagined it would be this present terrifying roller-coaster ride into the unknown. Hang on to your pocketbooks, make sure your sunglasses are secure! It's Tajikistan! It's Cambodia! It's Bosnia....

I weep for Muslim families uprooted, torn apart, killed, defiled. For Serbian and Croatian men held in the grip of old savageries. For the women who, I think, too often forgive or even encourage what their menfolk do.

But what does one say to our national leaders? I am amazed by the confident drumbeat of American columnists. "We have to do this!" "On no account do that!" "Bomb!" "Don't bomb!" "Fifty thousand ground troops!" "Not even with half a million!"

How on earth do these writers know enough to make these firm, often strident, recommendations? Did they learn so much more than I about the tangled histories among Muslims, Serbs, and Croats in Bosnia and the rest of former Yugoslavia? Do they know so much more than I about whether statements from European leaders should be taken at exact face value, how Russia's government will react, or probable outcomes of this or that action within the Muslim world?

I don't think so. Indeed, when writing about Bosnia, I think it is unseemly for anyone who is not a "Yugoslav" specialist to even think to have answers. For the rest of us, even identifying the right questions would be a contribution.

A year or so ago, Vaclav Havel wrote in an essay that people spend too much time trying to *explain*, when what is needed more is to try to *understand*. I agreed with him then. I agree with him now.

HELENA COBBAN

One thing we need to understand is why Bosnia is such a hot issue. Massive campaigns of killing and inhumanity are under way elsewhere as well – in southern Sudan, in Myanmar, and maybe in East Timor. Is Bosnia worse than those situations? Or is it just that these are the atrocities that the TV networks have decided are the ones we should see? If Bosnia is not "worse," and it may well not be, then what is it that forces us to pay attention anyway? What *are* the stakes there?

Bosnia is a multi-faceted challenge. First, to Europeans, and to the ideal they have held of "Europe whole and free." It is also caught in the tangled web of relations between "the West" and "the Muslim world." It is undoubtedly an issue in relations between "the West" and Russia. It also has lessons within "the West" – between the United States and Europe.

The crisis in Bosnia is not, primarily, a direct responsibility of the US. We have a huge impact, for good or ill, on the situation by virtue of what our president decides to do. But if the president misjudges the situation and things go terribly wrong, we can walk away from Bosnia as we did from Lebanon 10 years ago. Our direct interests would only be a little affected. This is not true for Europe.

Bosnia is a defining challenge for the new world order.

"The new world – what?" cynics might snicker. Our country is broad, powerful, and can seem very self-sufficient. People from smaller, more vulnerable nations look at the question of order or disorder in the global environment much more seriously. Because we are not as self-sufficient as we seem, we should do the same.

So what to do? Weep some. Ponder human capacity for inhumanity. Seek more understanding of all dimensions of this terrible issue. All are necessary precursors to *doing* anything effective.

Then, I think, this question needs to be placed in the world context in which it belongs. Partial efforts have been made. But nothing has worked. How about a broader, more serious international effort? Perhaps a rapidly-convened, UN-sponsored meeting in Geneva, with high-level representatives from G-7 countries, Russia, Iran, and other Muslim nations? A special session of the General Assembly?

Such high-profile deliberations are what all interested parties inside and outside Bosnia should see. They would symbolize how seriously the world looks at Bosnia, and allow participants to pool all efforts to find a solution. And then, if diplomacy at his highest level fails, all parties would have a continuing channel in which to discuss other options.

■ *Helena Cobban does research and writes on foreign affairs for Search for Common Ground in Washington. The views expressed are her own.*

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

Three Basics on Bosnia

CONFUSION and cross-purposes about intervening in Bosnia have caused President Clinton to delay approval of military action there. Congress isn't settled. The Europeans are stalling; they want to wait for a referendum on peace overseen by the Bosnian Serb parliament, an illegal body that says it has no intention of keeping peace. The Milosevic regime has as a maneuver split with angry Bosnian Serbs, confusing matters more.

Confusion, however, can be cut by focusing on three points.

First: The real story in Bosnia is the massacre of civilians now taking place – off camera. Serbs have attacked the town of Zepa; hundreds have died. Other villages near the Drina River, 70,000 civilians, are set for "ethnic cleansing." Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic loves to talk to the Western media. But he let no journalists into Zepa; Belgrade sources term it "genocide."

Europeans say arming the Bosnians means removing troops and aid. Yet Bosnia now requests UN troops to leave so they can arm. As for aid, the last UN convoy to reach Zepa was March 4.

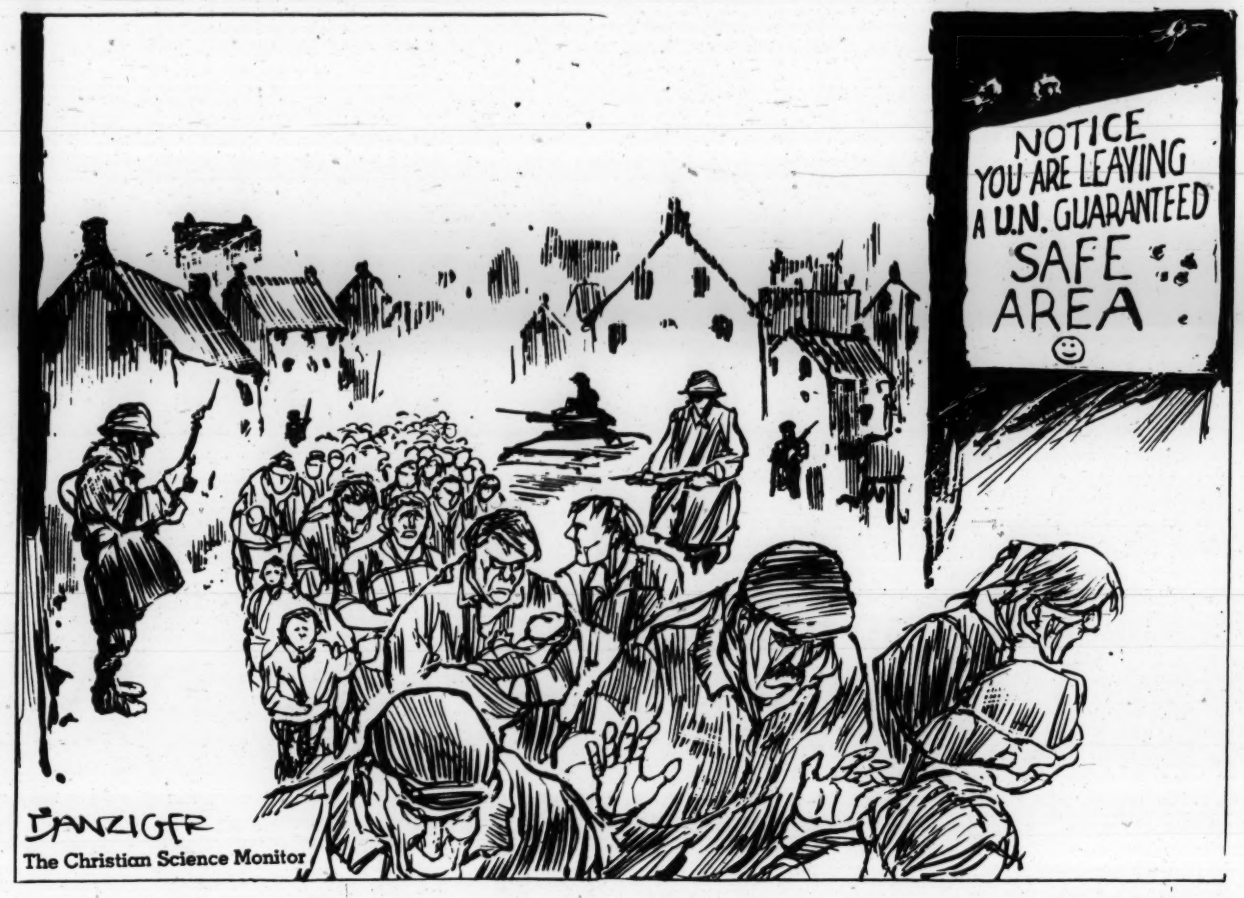
Second: What Serb President Slobodan Milosevic most wants is the United Nations in Bosnia. He is poised for a victory there and needs UN peacekeepers to seal it. His apparent "split" with Bosnian Serbs is a tactical retreat. It is a carbon copy of the bullying he did of Serbs in Croatia before the UN went in last year to ratify Serb gains there. (No Croatian family has been resettled in Serb regions, a central tenet of the failed Vance Plan in Croatia.)

Unless it acts in Bosnia, the West is poised to help an accused war criminal, responsible for the worst barbarism in Europe since Hitler, consolidate his gains.

Third: No one believes the Vance-Owen plan can work. Secretary Christopher calls it "closed." Yet it lingers as a device for inaction. Most troubling is the Vance-Owen definition of Bosnia as a civil war. The Security Council defines it as an international act of aggression. The truth is, this is a Serb war for territory – planned, organized, staffed, and financed by Belgrade. If a civil war, why the sanctions on Serbia?

President Clinton must consider what action in Bosnia would do to his presidency. He also must consider what inaction will do. It is past time for him to speak to Americans about halting a genocide in Europe. He should go on TV with a "historic" speech, reinterpreting the values the civilized world will act on in this generation. He must appeal to the best in Americans. As Elie Wiesel told Clinton at the Holocaust Memorial, we can't stand by while a people are exterminated. Clinton must say that if Europeans won't intervene, the US will. This will bring them around. Sen. Bob Dole will go on TV right after Clinton with needed bipartisan support.

EDITORIALS



Needed: More White House Pros

BILL CLINTON has recently resorted to an old tactic used by presidents who find themselves faltering in Washington: Go seek solace in "the real America." Most people outside of blasé Washington and New York just can't help but give the commander-in-chief a rousing, friendly welcome.

Beset by a foreign policy challenge in Yugoslavia that would have daunted even a Roosevelt (Theodore or Franklin), and scolded in Washington and the national media for stumbling out of the White House starting blocks in presenting his ambitious legislative initiative, Mr. Clinton sought the solace Monday and Tuesday of more forgiving constituents – not in home state Arkansas, but in Lincolnwood, Ill., and Cleveland. The people at shopping malls and other gathering places were, for the most part, friendly and sympathetic.

It was like campaigning, except that instead of targeting Republican adversaries Clinton took on a target few voters would likely defend: Washington lobbyists. Behind the two-day foray out of Washington was an attempt to capitalize on his affinity for crowds and the goodwill they seem to reflect toward the youthful and apparently still-confident new president.

But for Clinton, all paths must lead back to the national capital. His strongest appeals in coming weeks and months will have to be directed to powerful members of Congress from both parties who will, in many cases, have the last words on the president's major legislative initiatives: health care, the deficit, job creation, education, taxes, and more.

To this end, however, Clinton is not being served well by some key members of his administration. This is not for lack of confidence or trying, but from lack of experience on Capitol Hill, which is no playpen. The new administration has early suffered from what may have been overconfidence in the ability to step in and take over.

In several instances this has resulted in at least the appearance of bumbling. Some changes in key personnel are likely by late fall. Clinton and his lieutenants need to recruit a few more experienced "old hands." There still are some, of the right party, available.

If Not Guantanamo, Then Where?

The Opinion page article "It's Time Uncle Sam Left Guantanamo to the Cubans," May 6, fails to mention any of the reasons for which the military does or does not select sites for the bases – reasons such as strategic location and purpose of the base.

The author's statement that "when all the costs are considered, Guantanamo is not cost-effective" is possibly presenting opinion as fact. It is difficult to see how any military machine is cost-effective; actually they are all a financial drain. However, in searching up and down the East Coast for another training and evaluation base for the Atlantic Fleet, it would appear that most, if not all other bases require a full day, and perhaps two days, to exit the harbor and clear steaming channels and shipping lanes before reaching waters that are safe for firing and fleet maneuvers. From Guantanamo, exiting the harbor, proceeding to the firing area, being tested and evaluated, and returning to harbor is sometimes done in one day. That may not be "cost effective," but it is cost saving.

The Marines patrolling the fences at Guantanamo don't just stand there all day. They are constantly training, and if not in Guantanamo then somewhere else?

Charles E. Gibbs *Lake Isabella, Calif.*

On a path of higher population

Regarding the front-page article "Panel Studies Impact of New Immigrants on US Jobs, Wages," May 6: This issue isn't that new immigrants may or may not undercut the well-being of native-born Americans, but that the legislation permitting such immigration has placed our nation on a path of high population growth at exactly the wrong time in both our national and world history.

As a nation that uses world resources and creates pollution at a scandalous rate, to increase our size seems illogical. Further, to increase our population by large increments when we are barely able to limit the damage caused by an already large population seems foolhardy and irresponsible.

There is an element of fantasy in this – the legislating of that which is obviously harmful – which is very troubling. Is Congress in touch with reality?

Marvin Gregory *Renton, Wash.*

US environmental policy

The front-page article "President Pushes Green Agenda," April 23, concerning United States environmental policy, misrepresents the position of Secretary of Energy Hazel R. O'Leary on the global warming initiative announced by President Clinton in his Earth Day speech.

Secretary O'Leary strongly supports the global warming initiative and the Department of Energy was a full partner in providing the technical analysis to support Mr. Clinton's commitment to stabilize greenhouse gas emissions at 1990 levels by the year 2000. O'Leary wholeheartedly supports Vice President Gore's greenhouse gas policies. She is also concerned about the economic aspects achieving emission objectives through low-cost economically efficient strategies like joint implementation.

As a former executive of a large utility company, Northern States Power, O'Leary was a leading supporter of the emissions trading approach to acid rains, and she was an early supporter of legislation that eventually made its way into the Energy Policy Act, establishing a domestic version of joint implementation.

Mike Gauldin *Washington*
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Department of Energy

LETTERS

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